WILL YOU GIVE 15 MINUTES OF YOUR TIME TO SAVE THE GUARDIAN'S LIFE? SEE PP 2, 11

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
5 cents
Vol. 2, No. 16
NEW YORK, N. Y., JANUARY 30, 1950

Exclusive interview!

Henry A. Wallace on FDR, China and World Peace

TODAY America celebrates the birthday of Franklin D. Roosevelt. In the nearly five years since the great President died, his New Deal has remained so alive in the people's hearts that "liberal" politicians still must pay it the lip-service they pay the Bill of Rights.

Last week the man who helped FDR set the New Deal's goals, devise its forms, make it grow — who watched FDR calculate practical budgets, then unbalance them to meet the people's needs—was before the House Un-American Activities Committee to answer charges of violating wartime security by sending uranium to Russia. The real charge against this man, former Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, was that he remained as the New Deal's symbol and most powerful advocate.

In a spirit of high confidence for the future before he left for Washington, Wallace gave an exclusive interview to the GUARDIAN. It was the day before Alger Hiss was sentenced. Wallace felt it particularly important to restate Roosevelt's objectives "at a time when there's a Republican plot to blacken everything Roosevelt stood for."

WHAT THEY STAND FOR WILL NEVER DIE

Franklin D. Roosevelt and Henry A. Wallace as President and Vice President of the United States

An American Dreyfus Case

The Hiss trial has "a terrific political import," he said, tracing the use of the witch hunt to divert the nation from its chosen New Deal objectives. "From the political point of view, the trial has probably a greater significance than the Dreyfus trial in France."

The Democrats, he pointed out, now find themselves on the receiving end of the drive toward U. S. fascism to which their own repressive "loyalty" program gave the impetus. "I don't think they appreciated it would go quite so fast," he commented.

Today's economy propped up only by military spending bears no resemblance to the full-employment, high wages peace economy charted in Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights. At Buenos Aires in 1936, FDR defined armaments employment as "false employment," declaring that a nation guilty of militarizing its economy inevitably must one day make war or its "unsound economy, like a house of cards, will fall apart."

Wallace told the GUARDIAN: "Roosevelt, when he projected the magnificent concept of 60,000,000 jobs in October 1944, was not planning, we may be sure, to get jobs by shipping arms to western Europe or backing up military machines in Greece or Turkey or by engaging in American adventurism all over the world. He was planning for homes with electricity, plumbing, air and sunlight, for new highways and parkways, new hospitals and health clinics, for river authorities in the valleys of the Missouri and the Arkansas and the basin of the Columbia.

"The very first time I met him—in August 1932—he talked about the Shelter Belt. He could just see the trees, stretching all the way from the Dust Bowl to Mexico. He was geographically and spatially minded, always thought in practical terms—in terms of a specific irrigation project or building needed in some place he'd visited."

China and our future

How can the nation get back on the straight road to these New Deal objectives?

"The most important thing for us in the world today is to win China's friendship," Wallace said. Friendship with China will lead to peace based on cooperation; peace means using our resources for construction, not destruction.

"With systematic help China could double its agricultural output and increase its industrial production five times in ten years. In agriculture it's a question of better seeds, fertilizer, machinery, rotation.

"We mustn't make the same mistake about China we made about Russia after the first war. I remember the recantation session in Ed Stettinius' suite in the Shoreham hotel in Washington, October 20, 1941, when Averell Harriman and William Batt got back from Russia. They kept telling us how wrong they'd been about Russia. Harriman said he'd been sure Russia could never run the manganese mines taken from him, that the Russians with their Slavic souls had no tool sense. But now he

(Continued on Page 12)

PROGRESSIVE PARTY NEWS
PAGE 4

How to make friends and . . .

WALLACE's 1944 report on China, asserting that "the leaders of post-war China will be brought forward by evolution or revolution, and it seems now more likely the latter," has become a political football for Republicans and Democrats. Wallace smiled over Secretary of State Acheson's Press Club speech accusing the Russians of "attaching" four North China provinces. The situation there, he said, "is one of the most complicated in world history.

"The Chinese built the Great Wall to keep out the Mongol invaders. It didn't work. The Russians were more realistic. They tried a scientific approach. The Mongolians suffered because their livestock was destroyed by the animal diseases that ravaged the land. The Russians studied these diseases, trained the Mongols to prevent and control them. This is the bond between the Russians and the Mongols—a bond of service."

—Tabitha Petran

American Gestapo in the making
PAGE 3

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NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone WOrth 4-1750.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. and possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $2 a year. All other countries, $3 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 5c. Entered as second class matter Nov. 23, 1948, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Cedric Belfrage
Editor

John T. McManus
General Manager

Executive Editor
James Aronson

STAFF: Elmer Bendiner, Fritz Silber, Barney Conal (Associate Editors), Robert Joyce (Art Editor), Leon Summit, Regina S. Oshlag (business and circulation); Tabitha Petran, Lawrence Emery, Robert E. Light, Egon Pohoryles, Adele Kravitz, Dorothy R. Mishkind.

CORRESPONDENTS: John B. Stone (Washington), Rod Holmgren (Chicago), Gene Richards (Los Angeles), Gordon Schaffer, Konni Zilliacus (London), Stanley Karnow (Paris), Emil Carlebach (Frankfurt), George Wheeler (Prague), Ralph Parker (Moscow), Peter Townsend (Shanghai), Max Werner (military), Richard A. Yaffe, Ella Winter (roving).

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THE MAILBAG

Time is short

CHICAGO, ILL.

Truth, the fountainhead from whence flow all man's blessings, will be dealt a serious blow should NATIONAL GUARDIAN leave the scene. This must not happen—the hydrogen bomb era is nearly at hand and our few liberties, fast diminishing, will be obliterated in haste. TIME IS SHORT.

Who will replace you? Indeed, who can replace you, a group of courageous, self-sacrificing, truth-seeking, cooperative individuals, fighting our battles, incensed by the gall our enemies flagrantly display and hurt, no doubt, by those of us who, by our ungratefulness, shockingly shirk our responsibilities toward your efforts.

"The person who is not fighting all the time against social, political and economic injustice, is a killer because he tolerates, and by tolerating, aggravates the causes of war." Can that be repeated too often? Or this:

Mourn not the dead,
But rather mourn the apathetic throng,
The cowed and meek,
Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong
And dare not speak.

It is a privilege to help. Enclosed find $25. The names will follow.

Dr. Ralph R. Sackley

●

Salt of the earth

CROTON-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

Your "Last Ditch Appeal to Reason" has reached me and since I still have a little reason left in such a hectic hysterical time (thanks to your paper, in part) I am enclosing $5.

Spartaco V. Monello

●

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Sure, you're right, you can't run a paper on no money or not enough money, and there is no point in pretending you can. I'm very sure that people, particularly working class people, will come through. You have a base as wide as the front door to heaven.

Here's a fiver from me and the Manning Street cats.

Ames Stewart

●

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Don't give up the sheet!

Mort Borrow

●

CHICAGO, ILL.

Contribution of $5 enclosed, in honor of birth of a granddaughter. Best wishes to you!

Harry D. Koenig

To all readers

The GUARDIAN is considering a change in printing schedule. If your next issue arrives a day or two later than usual, it will be as a result of the new schedule. Succeeding issues, of course, will have no lag. Next week's issue will carry more news on this.

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

I will work as year-round agent for the GUARDIAN. I have already gotten many subs and I have a car. I am well known in Phoenix and vicinity as I worked four months in the Wallace campaign.

R. H. Harvey

●

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

As a subscriber to your paper, I have nothing but praise for it. This is not only from myself; but from many others. If you will forward any list of prospects you have for this area, I will be willing to work on them. Yours for a successful drive.

C. A. P.

●

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The YPA at Cooper Union would like to help in the subscription drive of the GUARDIAN. Please rush us a bundle of sample copies and about 50 sub cards. The GUARDIAN is exactly what is needed to combat the apparently growing skepticism in the campuses.

Frank J. Kovacich
Educational-Cultural Committee

●

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Here's the four subs you asked for, paid up, so don't bill them. When my sub runs out, let me know and I'll renew it. Take my commission and use it as you see fit.

Martin Katzman

●

HARTFORD, CONN.

Any list of potential subscribers you can send me for the Hartford area will definitely be canvassed since I have a great deal of spare time. Unemployment is getting to be quite a problem.

Sidney Kessler

●

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Please send me supplies and "leads." I am more interested in propagating truth than the 25% in your case.

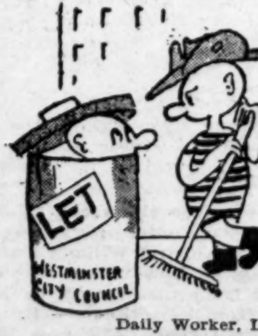
P. H.

AUSTIN, TEX.

Find enclosed four subscriptions to your great weekly. The first four persons I approached represented four sales.

Wherever I met resistance, the breaking down angle I used was to stress that there is no one individual, machine or political faction dictating its policy or opinion. GUARDIAN publishes what it believes, and there is no outside pressure to alter this fact.

M. Samuelson



Daily Worker, London

"I got it for 30 shillings a week."

●

Let's go, folks!

TYLER, TEX.

I've just been reading the Jan. 16 issue of the GUARDIAN which arrived today. The report on the San Joaquin Valley condition is a disgrace to any state or nation. No city, county, state, or nation can truthfully boast of a better standard of living, or of better moral standards than the worst examples that exist within its borders.

I am a poor man, now reached the age where I may not be employed by private industry. I draw an old age assistance check of $44 per month. After paying room rent and eating in cafes, my little stipend is gone before the month is. I have to pick up a few odd jobs or gather up metal to sell to a junkyard to enable me to make the rest of the month.

However, I resolved to do one thing that will enlighten my fellowman. I've resolved to lay aside ten cents out of each dollar I make on the side till I've saved a dollar. Then pick out someone in my neighborhood and subscribe for the GUARDIAN for him. Here's my challenge to GUARDIAN readers. Join this 10% crusade and let's see if we can't double its circulation in a few weeks. Are you with me? Let's go, folks, and enlighten the people.

G. T. Conner

●

Werner and war

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I always enjoy the articles of Max Werner and consider them among the best features of your excellent paper. But his article "Crisis, but no war" (Jan. 2) could do more harm than good to the cause of peace. After an analysis of the military situation, Max Werner comes to the conclusion that a war between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. would be impossible in 1950 and in the decade 1950-60.

To this the reaction of the average reader might be a sigh of relief followed by a relaxation of the efforts your reader might have made in the fight for peace. Contrary to Max Werner, I believe that the possibility of an impending war is not a matter of fiction as the war preparations of the U.S. government are carried through systematically and without letup. This is borne out by the further contents of the issue in question and former issues of your paper.

You may agree with me that despite its appearing strength, U.S. imperialism is in a desperate position owing to the developing economic crisis, in the initial phase of which we are at present, and the full development of which will make it very difficult to start the scheduled war against the U.S.S.R. I believe that the U.S. monopolists are agreed upon the necessity to start this war before the economic crisis develops fully, and that they are quite willing to take the terrible gamble of a third world war in spite of the technical handicaps mentioned by Max Werner.

I therefore believe 1950 and posposibly 1951 will be the crucial years in which the decision regarding war or peace will be made. Everything depends now on the fight of the peace forces, especially in this country. Therefore let us amend the statement of Max Werner as follows: "We must redouble our fight for peace so that there will be no war in 1950."

H.D.

●

Complacent? No sign

OMAHA, NEB.

In my humble view, Max Werner is doing an excellent job and I'll be damned if I can find any signs whatever of complacency in his brilliant military analyses. The coming of peace has not seen any decline in his intellectual powers and in his deep understanding of the society of our day. All power to him and his evaluation of events in terms of military power geopolitically!

And in the breath I want to take the opportunity to congratulate you on the publication of the poem "Jesus" by Mei Ch'ing. I must tell you that it was a refreshing, inspiring and emotionally titillating experience to read it. That's what I call the blowing of a new, young, vibrant spirit into an old story, an old theme.

I know no way to express my high regard for your work and my compensation for the pleasure I derive from the GUARDIAN except to send you a check for $5, and say to you: Do with it as you please, as long as it enhances the power and glory and effectiveness of our newspaper.

G. Mendel

Report on the crisis

15 minutes of your time

IN the Jan. 23 GUARDIAN, we informed you of a grave crisis in our affairs.

We had a subsidy from last February to date. We spent the subsidy endeavoring to obtain a mass circulation at $1 a year which would make the paper self-sustaining. The readership goals necessary for that have been less than 25% accomplished.

There is no new subsidy to replace the money which has been spent. We are now completely on our own. Unless the readers and potential readers of the GUARDIAN come through in this pinch, the GUARDIAN goes to the graveyard of good tries poorly supported.

This was the picture last week, and the past few days have not changed it materially.

UP to this moment, only one per cent of the readers have responded in any measure. Those who have responded have added some 2,000 new readers and have sent us contributions ranging from $1 to $100.

This total, amounting to $5 a head from one percent of the readers originally addressed, is a magnificent response — no two ways about that. The total in money is now in excess of $4,500.

But this response comes from men and women who at every turn in the GUARDIAN's fortunes have rallied to our support. In far too many instances, their contributions represent serious sacrifices — some of the people who responded so quickly sent money out of old age pensions!

In the main, this one percent response has been a huge and heart-warming vote of confidence from great hearts but slim purses.

THAT is the story of the one percent.

But where are the ninety and nine, whom we have not heard from at press time? Many, we know, are waiting for payday to reply, or have set aside some weekend time to enlist their friends as GUARDIAN readers.

But some of you we have never been able to budge. While we can, we intend to keep trying.

We need your response not only for long-range survival but for immediate survival!

Your cooperation NOW means TIME — time to achieve what must be achieved, a supporting readership.

Even as little as three times the present response means literally weeks of life. Ten times the present response (which is assured if you yourself will act now!) will give us precious months — to push for subscribers, to get some trade union activity, to get a really purposeful push through Progressive and American Labor Party organizations, which we have not had up to now.

REMEMBER — the GUARDIAN has never stopped growing, from its first week of publication. It is simply that we have not grown fast enough to be suddenly thrust on our own. That's why we ask you now — today — to give us a minimum of effort — even just 15 minutes on the 'phone — to help multiply this growth in a hurry.

Sure, $5 may be tough out of your own weekly budget, but 15 minutes is only about one-tenth the time you spend each day snarling at the radio, ruining your eyesight at television or the movies, or reading papers that give you the willies on every page.

Give us this day this 15 minutes. The GUARDIAN will thank you, your friends will thank you, and six months from now you'll be thanking yourself for the part you played in giving long life to America's only national progressive newsweekly.

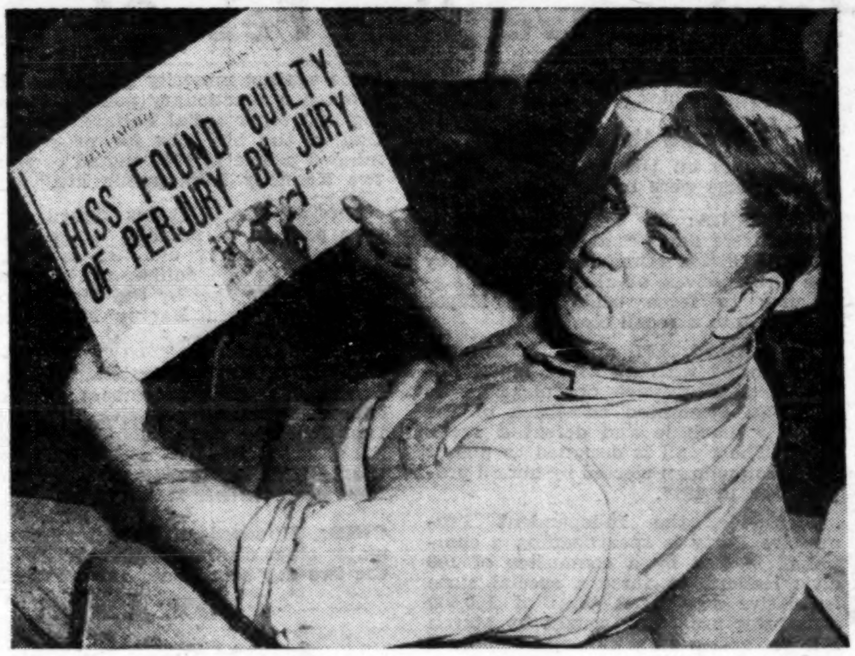
Meanwhile, we have cut expenses to the bone and the whole staff has voluntarily gone on "subsistence" rations, waiting for you to move.

Will you? NOW?

—THE EDITORS

When will the government go after the REAL liars?

THOMAS F. MURPHY



WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

ALGER HISS

"The government now moves for judgment—five years on each count to run concurrently, as a warning to the public that the crime of perjury cannot be committed with impunity."

U. S. prosecutor Thomas F. Murphy, demanding full penalty for Alger Hiss.

Your father's mustache, Mr. Prosecutor!;

Here is a list of real, unmitigated perjurers not only condoned by government witchhunters, but paid and protected by the government for their services:

GEORGE HEWITT, suborned by the government to bear false witness against educator Melvin Rader in the State of Washington; then hustled out of the state to save him from prosecution for perjury when the courts cleared Rader's name and reputation.

LAWRENCE SETON ROSS, who confessed to a lifetime of perjuries on the stand in the current Harry Bridges trial; also Paul Crouch and Manning Johnson, other government witnesses against Bridges whose perjuries have been exposed by actual documents.

And last but not least, WHITTAKER CHAMBERS himself, confessed perjurer several times over in his vendetta against Alger Hiss, and—to make the cheese more binding—a confessed spy too.

A new twist in the art of planned perjury was calmly hinted at by Alger Hiss, when the judge pronounced sentence on him:

"I am confident that in the future the full facts, showing how Whittaker Chambers was able to carry out forgery by typewriter, will be disclosed."

•

To U. S. Attorney General McGrath: When are you going to indict the real perjurers and bring them to trial?

This is your FBI

Documented! A U.S. Gestapo in the making

By John B. Stone
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

"THE plain fact is that the liberties of the American people are not safe so long as the FBI continues on its present path."

With that statement, the National Lawyers Guild last week placed in the hands of the people a factual report on illegal FBI snooping activities which should become a prime weapon in the fight against a U. S. Gestapo.

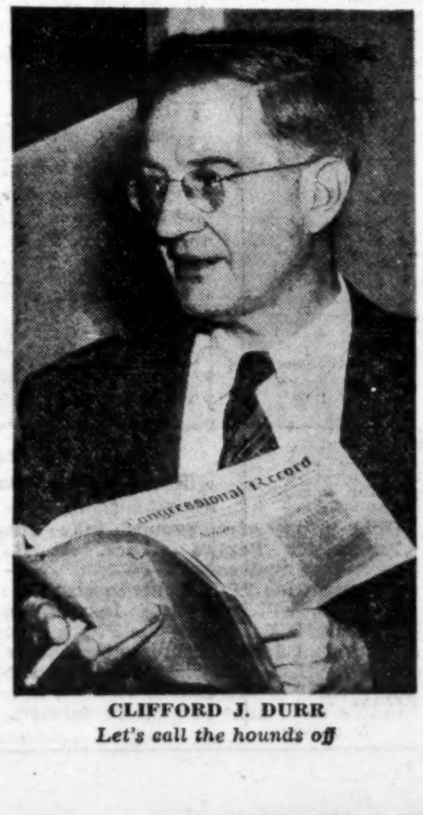
Release of the report stirred up frantic efforts to deflect public attention from it. Rep. Richard Nixon (R-Calif.) of the House Un-American Activities Committee called the press in advance to denounce the Lawyers Guild as "subversive." After the report was issued, certain congressmen "permitted" release of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's testimony requesting a $57,400,000 appropriation to round up "spies and communists."

NO MORE ROMANCE: Americans have been flooded for years with romantic, press-agent propaganda about the heroic FBI—movie thrillers, magazine serials, novels, comics. Many victims of the FBI's political spying have known the sordid side of the story. But the terrifying facts have rarely been documented as they are by the Lawyers Guild.

What is proved?

- That the FBI spies on the American people to find out their political beliefs and personal associations—not necessarily to ferret out crimes that have been or may be committed.
- That the FBI "may commit more crimes than it ever detects" by using methods expressly forbidden by law—wire-tapping, mail interception, search without warrant.
- That the FBI today employs nearly 4,000 agents as against 797 in 1939, with its big wartime staff and appropriations increases uncut.

REASON FOR ALARM: The Guild report is based on an analysis of 28 cases of FBI surveillance which the government was forced to submit to the court in the Washington espionage trial of Judith Coplon. The lawyers who signed the analysis include eminent and careful men—Clifford J. Durr, Guild president, who withdrew from the Federal Communications Commission in protest against the government loyalty program; O. John Rogge, noted civil rights attorney and a former U. S. Assistant Attorney General; Prof. Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School.



CLIFFORD J. DURR

Let's call the hounds off

They concede that 28 cases may seem a narrow basis for study, but emphasize that the shocking facts revealed in these 28 lead inescapably to the conclusion that the FBI is violating U. S. laws and the rights of privacy wholesale. None of the 28 snooping expeditions led to discovery of an illegal act; 16 of them dealt solely with people, not with actual or potential crimes.

FBI CONVICTS ITSELF: Here are some of the things the report shows, with texts of "confidential informant" FBI documents to support them:

- Although Hoover insists there are "only 170 cases" of authorized wiretapping, these evidently involve eavesdropping on thousands of individuals all over the U. S.
- The FBI convicts itself of opening mail in transit and rifling homes and desks for diaries and private papers.
- The FBI's lawlessness extends the Truman loyalty purge from government workers to every U. S. citizen—and even to foreign embassies, legations and consulates. (One foreigner was reported "disloyal" to the U. S. because he praised his own country).

Evidences of "disloyalty" include: affiliation with the Progressive Party; admiration for Soviet war victories; opposition to the Un-American Activities Committee; writing a thesis on the "New Deal in New Zealand"; possessing literature on B'nai B'rith and the American Council of Jewish Women; speaking Yiddish; being a "Progressive Party Negress"; receiving mail from Moscow.

LOOK IN THE TRASH: One FBI document revealed this type of spying: "The first step of this investigation was to interview the building superintendent . . . The building superintendent reported 'from careful observation of the trash' that W. H. S. receives mail from Texas . . ."

In another: "It was the interviewing agent's impression of U——, from his tone of conversation, that he has Communist leanings and will not hesitate to classify himself as a liberal or a progressive."

The Lawyers Guild demanded three immediate steps to halt the FBI's threat to civil rights: (1) an order from the Attorney General to cease all activities that violate the law; (2) investigation only of crimes, not the "loyalty of the population"; (3) a commission of inquiry to be set up by the President to lay bare the entire FBI police system, with full powers to make witnesses talk and obtain secret records.

Attorney General J. Howard McGrath replied that the FBI was doing a fine job and would be let alone. From Truman there was no reply.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Your "last ditch appeal" really did it! One hour on the phone produced five new subscribers. I've got everything but my eyes crossed hoping that the GUARDIAN will be able to continue. I enjoy everything about it, from its reasonable price, to layout, to the highly professional reporting (all too infrequent in progressive newspapers); and last but not least, the occasional but delightful "light touches."

Mary Gandall

Progressives on the march

1,000 to attend convention Feb. 24

AS the Progressive Party's national leadership prepares for its second annual convention in Chicago Feb. 24 to 26, reports of a resurgent party come in from all parts of the country.

The convention will open on Friday evening, Feb. 24, with a mass meeting. Principal speakers will be Henry A. Wallace, Elmer Benson, the party's national chairman and former governor of Minnesota, and Congressman Vito Marcantonio.

ELMER BENSON

. . . and several hundred friends

One thousand delegates from at least 35 states are expected at the Saturday and Sunday sessions. The major items on the program will be: (1) adoption of a 1950 campaign platform; and (2) planning and organization of the 1950 congressional campaigns. The Progressive Party's fight for peace, jobs, civil rights and recognition of the People's Republic of China will be the main policy topics.

Round the nation

Elsewhere on the progressive front, these things were happening:

CALIFORNIA: In Los Angeles politicians were amazed at the speed with which a Citizen's Committee sparked by the Progressives obtained 130,113 signatures to force backsliding Mayor Bowron into a recall election.

In Oakland, AFL and CIO Councils have united with all other labor, liberal and progressive organizations to fight an attempted comeback of the old city machine and defeat a recall move. The recall is designed to unseat three councilmen elected by united progressives in 1947.

Statewide, the Independent Progressive Party is spearheading a campaign, backed by a committee of 100 civic leaders, to force a special state legislative session. A total of 100,000 signatures are being sought by March 1 to get action on mounting unemployment (expected to reach 600,000 by March 1) and to help the 44,000 old age pensioners recently stricken from the rolls.

ILLINOIS: "Defeat Kennelly in 1951" emerged as a slogan from a fighting, day-long conference on municipal issues held by Chicago Progressives Jan. 22.

Nearly 300 delegates from ward clubs, trade unions, the Chicago Tenants Action Council and the South Side Negro Labor Council took part in the hard-working parley which explored problems of relief, utilities, housing and rent control, mob violence and discrimination. Sidney Ordower, Illinois PP legislative director, charged Mayor Kennelly with being a representative of entrenched interests who has "knifed the people on the Carey Anti-Discrimination ordinance, condoned mob violence against minority groups and has adopted a reactionary policy on housing and other social welfare measures. One of the big jobs for progressive-minded people in 1951 should be to retire Kennelly from public life."

Most of the delegates signed up to take part in permanent "action committees" to carry out the campaigns initiated by the conference. One will drive for adoption by the City Council of the proposed Harvey FEPC ordinance.

NEW JERSEY: In Montclair, N. J., 25 Progressive Party members are out canvassing with fund-drive books. The first 42 people visited contributed $220. Miss Marion Edwards of Montclair was the first in the state to sell a complete fund book. (Other states please copy!)

OHIO: Hundreds of delegates from all major cities and key counties attended the two-day second annual convention of the Progressive Party of Ohio Jan. 21-22.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

The convention decided to put up candidates for several major statewide offices and in a number of congressional districts. The needs of Ohio and the Progressive Party's program to fulfill them were reflected in a resolution which demanded that Gov. Lausche call a special session of the State assembly to: (1) set up a state revolving fund of $100,000,000 for low-cost public housing; (2) establish a $100 a month minimum pension for senior citizens; (3) enact an effective state fair employment practice act; (4) repeal the present "vicious" anti-labor injunction laws of Ohio; amend and liberalize the Ohio election law to end the old parties' monopoly of the ballot.

PENNSYLVANIA: The Progressive Party has won its fight for recognition as one of the Commonwealth's three major parties. Henceforth, registration cards for new voters in the state will carry the official designation of the Progressive Party.

A recent decision of the State Supreme Court requires that the PP be accorded the same privileges given the other major parties in every county in the state for the 1950 elections. An intensive campaign to register voters in the PP is now under way.

MARYLAND: The Progressive Party's nine fully functioning ward clubs in Baltimore have recently chalked up a series of achievements. The party has organized a city-wide Council for Jobs and Relief. It organized a mass delegation to the special session of the Maryland Legislature which resulted in a $300,000 appropriation for relief and recognition by the legislature of the Progressive Party's activity in obtaining it.

We who believe that peace is not only possible but mandatory must have some means of weekly communication to hold us all together. The only means of such communication which exists in our country today is the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. I urge every progressive American to give the GUARDIAN full support so that it may grow and expand its indispensable services.

—HENRY A. WALLACE

Pretty politics in Ohio

The boys in the know say Truman's working for Taft

Special to the GUARDIAN

CLEVELAND, OHIO

IN 1944 Robert Alphonso Taft ("Mr. Republican") squeaked into the Senate from Ohio ("Mother of Presidents") with a bare 17,000 plurality against a Democratic hack politician who waged a lazy man's campaign. Since then the father of the Taft-Hartley law has become one of the most unpopular men in public office. When he announced his candidacy for reelection next fall his defeat seemed inevitable—if the Truman Administration and the Democratic National Committee went all out to beat him.

The evidence is now in that they would rather keep him in office.

This is their theory: re-elected, Taft almost certainly would get the GOP Presidential nomination in '52—and Harry Truman would rather run against him than anybody else the Republicans could name, Eisenhower, for example.

BUSTLING BOYLE: Three weeks ago chairman William H. Boyle Jr. of the Democratic National Committee went to Ohio to squelch rumors about the Democratic strategy. But, the N.Y. *Times* reported, the reports are "not likely to die out simply because of Mr. Boyle's denial."

The rumors are heavily bolstered by the simple fact that leading Ohio Democrats refused to run against Taft. Gov. Frank Lausche, a strong vote getter and the logical candidate, not only declined to run but just about endorsed Taft on the grounds that the nation needs an opposition "statesman" of Taft's calibre in the Senate.

Lausche, an ambitious politician, has played footsie with the Republicans before. In 1944 he got unofficial but well-organized GOP support in return for not supporting Franklin Roosevelt.

Next logical candidate was Cleveland's Mayor Thomas A. Burke, Lausche's personal protege. But on Jan. 12 Burke announced he would not run against Taft.

FERGUSON vs. DISALLE: This left the field to Democratic State Auditor Joseph T. Ferguson, a politician without Taft's or Lausche's political stature, and little experience with the major issues that concern the electorate. Burke refused to support him, threw his weight to Toledo's Mayor Michael J. DiSalle, who announced his candidacy when Burke pulled out. As things stand now, these two will compete in the primaries on May 2.

Ohioans in the know say that this is entirely to Taft's liking—Ferguson is almost sure to win in the primaries and Taft is confident that he can beat him. One report from "unimpeachable authority" insists that Republican money is backing the Ferguson campaign as a set-up for the Senator.

GOOD ADVICE: All of which jockeys the Ohio voter into a most unpleasant situation—unless AFL, CIO and all Ohio progressive groups take the Progressive Party's advice. At its second annual convention last weekend, the Ohio PP had this to say:

"What will beat Taft is not the Democratic Party, not the Progressive Party, not labor or any other single group. What will beat Taft, and the only thing which can beat Taft, is a united movement of workers, farmers, Negroes, housewives, citizens of foreign descent, and all other peace-minded, forward-looking Americans—a movement which is essentially non-partisan, a movement held together by its common purpose."

The convention empowered the state committee to decide, after the primaries, whether to enter a third candidate in the November elections.

TAFT CAMPAIGNS IN OHIO

The tall corn heard, then turned away

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

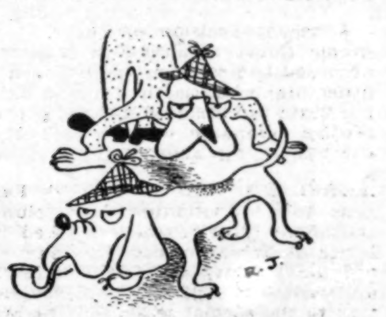
Acheson stands by Alger Hiss in the American Dreyfus Case

IN 1894 France hid its corruption under a spy scare and a war scare. A letter turned up listing French documents that were to be turned over to the Germans. The hunt was on.

The hounds picked up the scent of Alfred Dreyfus, an official of the War Dept. and a Jew. The evidence was flimsy: his handwriting was somewhat like that on the document.

The trial offered little for consideration by judge and jury; it was a demonstration against the Jews and for the political power of the Church. The verdict was like the last line in a prepared speech. In its context it was inevitable: guilty.

Dreyfus went to Devil's Island. At home the fight for his freedom enlisted the great men of his time. To them his imprisonment meant the triumph of corruption. He was pardoned in 1899. Not until 1906 did the political fog lift so that men could see clearly again and force judges to reverse the verdict. The real traitor was found among the witch-hunters themselves: his name was Major Esterhazy.



FRENCH CLIMATE: The climate in the U. S. is as sharp as that of France in 1894. War scares and witch-hunts conceal the corruption and crisis. And last week Alger Hiss was sentenced to five years in prison—convicted of perjury in denying he handed over documents to spies for transmittal to Russia.

Hiss had been a New Dealer in the State Dept. The climate was bad for New Dealers, the verdict against him almost inevitable.

The evidence against him consisted of documents whose typing was traced to a typewriter he once owned, and the word of Whittaker Chambers, an admitted perjurer and spy whom experts declared to be a psychopath. At first, it was reported, two men and a woman on the jury voted for acquittal; when the political climate closed in on the jury room, the last man to hold out said: "Well, I might as well go along with the rest."

Hiss filed notice of appeal and was granted bail. Prosecutor Thomas F. Murphy was congratulated by every politician who hated the New Deal. Whittaker Chambers on his Maryland farm thanked prosecutor, judge, jury and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It seemed like a general's farewell to his troops.

ACHESON'S HOUR: In the Senate Karl Mundt (R-S. D.) was celebrating his "victory" and calling for wider witch-hunts, repeal of Roosevelt's work for peace at Yalta and passage of the Mundt-Ferguson bill for thoroughgoing suppression.

While he talked, a messenger brought him the news that Secretary of State Dean Acheson had just told reporters:

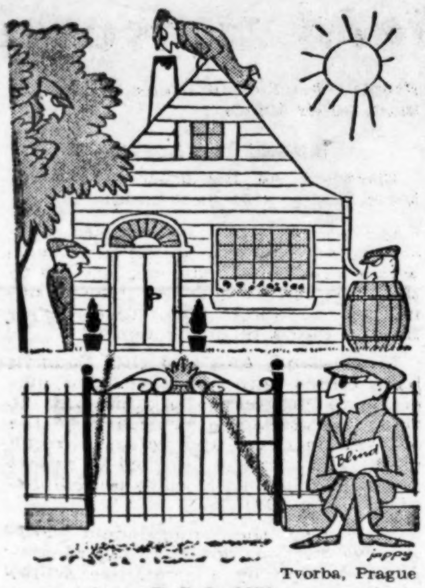
"I should like to make it clear to you that, whatever the outcome of any appeal which Mr. Hiss or his lawyers may make in this case, I do not intend to turn my back on Alger Hiss."

Senator Mundt was joined by angry Republicans calling for Acheson's resignation. Rep. Richard M. Nixon (R-Cal.) said: "I think Secretary Acheson's statement is disgusting."

MAKE IT OFFICIAL! Back at the State Dept. press officers were busily handing out mimeographed copies of Matthew chapter 25, verses 36 to 44. The Secretary had said his principles were summed up there. According to Bert Andrews of the N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** "a State Dept. official hazarded the guess that the verses 34 to 40 were the most pertinent ones. This was not made official, however."

In this passage the Lord says to the righteous: "I was in prison and ye came unto me." The righteous ask: "When saw we thee sick or in prison and came unto thee?" The Lord answers: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Whatever his politics, whatever his political future (which last week looked dubious), Dean Acheson clearly believed he was championing a friend and serving God. To millions of Americans it was a heartening reminder that even in the debased atmosphere of cold-war Washington there were still some principles of moral conduct on which some Fair Dealers would stand, regardless of consequences.



Tvorba, Prague

U. S. A. 1950
"Mr. Smith is suspected of favoring peace."

THE TRIALS

HARRY BRIDGES

Time for truth

"INDICT the perjurers!" became the slogan last week of the defenders of Harry Bridges. It was addressed to the U. S. Justice Dept. on thousands of petitions calling for punishment of proven liars who have testified against Bridges, Henry Schmidt and J. R. Robertson, officers of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in their perjury trial.

In the San Francisco courtroom, defense attorneys James McInnis and Vincent Hallinan opened their case in an atmosphere still acrid from their attacks on the government's case.

U. S. HAS LOW SCORE: This was the score as the defense took over:

The U. S. had sought to prove that Bridges was a member and official of the Communist Party, and thus had committed perjury when he denied membership in obtaining citizenship in 1945. Schmidt and Robertson were accused of conspiring in the perjury. Two U. S. witnesses, ex-Communists Paul Crouch and Manning Johnson, ran into trouble when they placed Bridges at 1936 Communist meetings in New York and the defense showed he was then in California. Another, Lawrence Ross, admitted perjury while on the stand. Still others suffered acute memory failures and chronic contradictions.

HARRY HAS TIME: First defense witness was a plain-spoken dockworker, Bruce Jones, who said it was a lie that he had helped recruit Bridges into the Communist Party. Then came Walter E. Buck, a shipping executive who knew Bridges from union-management battles, found him honest and non-Communist. Then came stevedores who had arranged to have Bridges at a California meeting when the U.S. said he was at a Communist convention in New York.

Bridges, concentrating on his defense, found time to become national chairman to a committee to save Ocie Jugger and Paul Washington from a murder frame-up in New Orleans, La.

(Continued on following page)

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Go get 'em!
E. Henkin

Max Werner

The hydrogen bomb —threat to U. S.

FRIGHTFUL as the new hydrogen bomb is, it offers no military solution at all. It must be known in advance that the super-bomb is not a trump card of U. S. security, but **a terrifying threat to our security.**

The hydrogen bomb is an offspring conceived in laboratory research and factory production of the "regular" uranium - plutonium atomic bomb: whoever can produce the regular bomb can create the super-bomb too.

Until the infernal weapon comes from the production line and has been tested, its power can only be guessed. But it will be far below the theoretical limit of "approximately 1,000 times the power of the present bombs," referred to by John McCloy, then Asst. Secretary of War, in 1946. If the new version of the A-bomb is six times more powerful than the Hiroshima type, as it is assumed, the hydrogen bomb may start on the level of ten to one superiority to the Hiroshima type, being **twice as powerful** as the modernized A-bomb.

DON'T FRET, DARLING: This is slim consolation. One can anticipate a drawing in the **New Yorker,** with a lady looking through the open window at the approaching bomber and calming her excited husband: "But, darling, they carry a Hydro **only** twice as strong as the old fashioned A-bomb!" Of course, the initial hydrogen bomb can in its turn be made many times more powerful. But this development will take time and, in its gradual process, open the gates to a murderous armament race in super-bombs.

According to the May 1949 **Military Review,** the "complete" super-bomb, 1,000 times stronger than the first A-bomb, would:

- Bring about the collapse of dwellings in metropolitan areas of ten square miles;
- Damage beyond repair all houses within an area of 31 square miles;
- Render uninhabitable all dwellings in an area covering 71 square miles.

USELESS EARTHQUAKES: Still the strategic, the military effect of this monster would **not** be 1,000 times higher than a regular A-bomb, or tantamount to 2,000,000 tons of TNT bombs. The hydrogen bomb will fail militarily even more than the regular A-bomb in that it cannot hit the variety, the mass of scattered targets. Yet this, and not area-destruction, is the proper task of bombing. The hydrogen bomb will produce local earthquakes instead of precision hits.

Moreover, the armament race of super-bombs cannot be won. At its end must stand either the preventive war—or the new equalization of power, with both competitors wielding this time the super-bomb in approximately the same strength. Yet as General Bradley put it convincingly a few months ago, the U. S. cannot recur to the preventive war, because of compelling military reasons. Hydrogen bomb or no hydrogen bomb, the European-Asiatic continent cannot be subdued by any super-weapons.

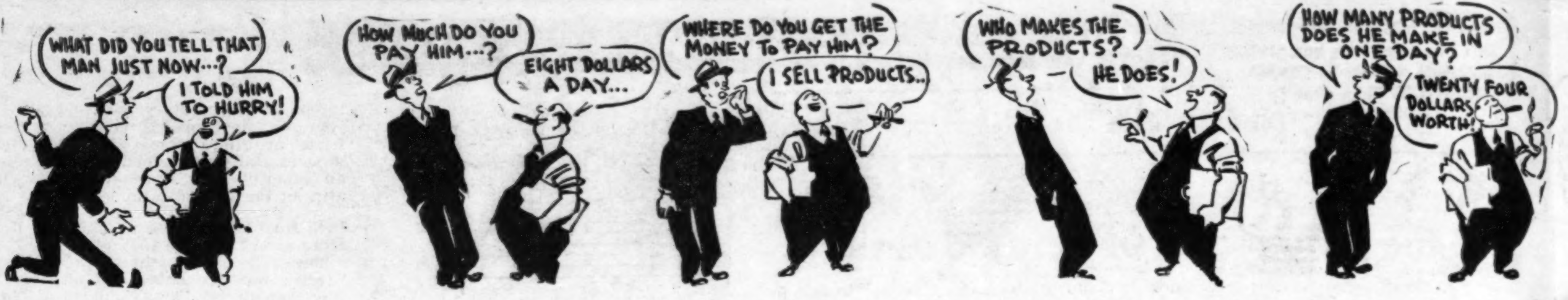
A CASE OF SUICIDE: The appeal for the super-bomb would be nothing but a grotesquely suicidal escape. It will start the atomic armament race all over again, on a higher and more destructive level, with the same results and the same frustrations. This time nobody has any illusions about Soviet ability to catch up with the new challenge. So far our appeal for super-weapons turned out to be the great stimulant and promoter of Russian military super-technology, bringing it into successively higher gear.

Yet the U. S. would be more vulnerable to the hydrogen monster than the Soviet bloc with its boundless Asiatic spaces. The quoted article in the **Military Review** stated:

> **It has been estimated that between 50 and 100 atomic bombs directed at our key industries, which are even more dangerously concentrated than our population, would literally paralyze most of our economic potential.**

The strategic damage to the U. S. would be even greater than the material damage, since the U. S.-Soviet race in super-bomb armament would go on at the expense of western Europe. The coming of the hydrogen bomb, filling western Europe with acute panic, will accomplish its military paralysis. For if a single super-bomb can demolish London, the same single super-bomb would knock out the entire U S. alliance system.

Yet there is still time to prevent the upsurge of this uncontrollable monster.


WHAT DID YOU TELL THAT MAN JUST NOW...?
I TOLD HIM TO HURRY!
HOW MUCH DO YOU PAY HIM...?
EIGHT DOLLARS A DAY...
WHERE DO YOU GET THE MONEY TO PAY HIM?
I SELL PRODUCTS..
WHO MAKES THE PRODUCTS?
HE DOES!
HOW MANY PRODUCTS DOES HE MAKE IN ONE DAY?
TWENTY FOUR DOLLARS WORTH!

(Continued from preceding page)

COPLON-GUBITCHEV

No tappers wanted

THE U. S. took Judith Coplon and Valentin Gubitchev to trial last week for conspiracy to commit espionage. But the government was on the defensive.

In weeks of pre-trial hearings, evidence had piled up that illegal FBI wiretapping played a big part in the case against the pair (see FBI story, p. 3). Judge Sylvester J. Ryan had to decide whether the U. S. possessed enough legal evidence for trial.

Although he ordered the case to proceed, his findings brought no joy to government lawyers or the FBI. He said:

"Such authorization [of wiretapping] did not clothe with legality the unlawful activities of the wiretappers. . . . The fact that these interceptions were carried on under written authorization of the Attorney General imparts no sanctity to them; they remain unlawful and prohibited."

Six women and six men were the jurors who would determine if the government could make a case without taps.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your impassioned plea finally broke through the thick skin of a so-called liberal. Enclosed please find check for $100 for which I want $100 worth of subscriptions sent to our various legislators in New York State or to our congressmen or senators in Washington. Keep up the good fight.

J. W.

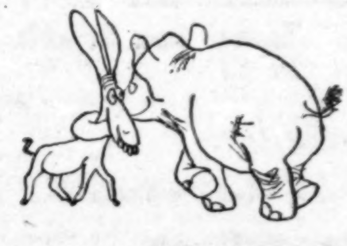
WASHINGTON

FEPC football

"Everybody wants FEPC as a political issue; nobody wants it as a law."—Vito Marcantonio.

" . . . No single action would so upset the Truman strategy as passing the FEPC."—The Alsop brothers in the N.Y. *Herald Tribune.*

THE act to establish a Fair Employment Practices Commission is a cardinal point in the Fair Deal, a perennial campaign slogan. The week before last President Truman told the Civil Rights Mobilization that his party would pass the measure if it took all summer. Last week it was betrayed again in a carefully rehearsed drama. This was the cast of characters with the roles played by each:



TRUMAN: Insisted for the record that FEPC be called up and any changes in House rules be defeated.

SPEAKER RAYBURN: Sidetracked consideration of FEPC against Truman's "orders."

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS: Took Rayburn's cue and kept FEPC off the floor on call-up day, with assist from "regular" Democrats.

REPUBLICANS: Helped defeat southern Democrats on Rules Committee changes, then helped them bottle up FEPC in committee.

QUARTERBACK OR FALL GUY? Fair Dealers had reduced FEPC from a high-sounding campaign pledge to a football. Charitable observers said the President was not equal to the fancy foot work. Others said he had called the play from the start.

The helplessness of Truman Fair Dealers against the force of their own boomeranging strategy was demonstrated in the tentative House vote defeating economic aid to Korea by 193 to 191. Democrats, at least, had been expected to stick together, but 61 of them joined 131 Republicans against cold-war aid to Korea. Rebellious Democrats included even some northern stalwarts who had never before broken on foreign policy issues.

SKELETONS AND TAXES: Into the seething congressional pot went Truman's new tax program: reductions of excise taxes on luxuries, boosts in corporation, estate and gift taxes to make up the difference. It was met with indifference by Democrats; Republicans moved to cut the excise rates and leave corporations alone.

A combination of southern Democrats and Republicans in the Senate threatened political trouble for Truman on another financial front last week. The Banking Committee voted for an investigation of Reconstruction Finance Corporation policies in granting big loans to big businesses. This skeleton has rattled in the Fair Deal closet for years; the bones would make a nice election-year display.

POLITICS

DEMOCRATS

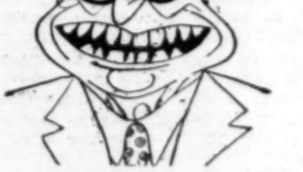
Dixie discord

EARLY in the month Harry S. Truman decided to send his top men down south to drum up some harmony in Democratic Party ranks. As the date of the Dixie conference (Jan. 28) drew near there were more wrong notes and off-key voices than ever.

State's Righters in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina, who broke with Truman in '48, were still rebellious. Republican emissaries from the north were trekking down to Dixie for quiet private talks about a merger.

BIG-GUN BYRNES: These discussions were premature, but in mid-month a big gun cut loose: James F. Byrnes, Harry Truman's second Secretary of State and his mentor when he was a senator, came out of retirement to run for governor of South Carolina.

Not a member of the State's Rights movement, Byrnes nevertheless was for the "rights of states" and bitterly against the "welfare state."



Harry Truman blew up at a press conference, said Byrnes is a free agent who can do as he damn pleases. Then he grinned.

The remark and the grin were slaps in the face for Dixiecrats and most southerners. Many invited politicians planned to boycott the harmony rally at Raleigh.

NEW LONG CHANCE: In New Orleans Mayor DeLesseps S. Morrison beat the Long machine again and was reelected. But Gov. Earl Long's forces had managed to change the city council set-up. Under the new seven-man organization, the Long machine hoped to regain political control of the city.

WOMEN

New fashion: equality

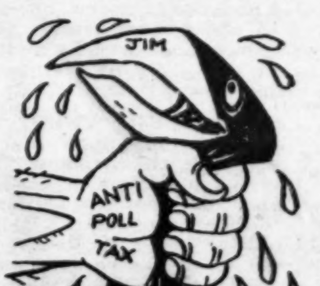
FOR 27 years the National Woman's Party has tried to push an Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution through Congress. They proposed to give women full "equality under the law." For many more years, working women have fought through their unions, the Congress of American Women and other progressive organizations to get state legislatures to protect their hours and conditions of work. They have opposed the amendment because by calling for complete equality it would wipe out already-accomplished

---

Jennings Perry

First: Right to vote

I HAVE read ruefully the published chagrin of the NAACP, the CIO and the ADA over the runaround the fair employment bill is receiving in the House. It will receive more of the same before this session of Congress is over—and it is a shame, of course. The campaign promises were so round, so fully packed. The supporters of the bill have put all their steam behind it, right up to the congressional desks. Moreover, the bill itself is as virtuous as the declarations for human equality with which we began as a nation. However, the situation was to have been expected.



What is happening was predicted here and elsewhere, on reasons which will bear repeating. The preparation was poor. It remains true that the place to win fair employment legislation is not in Washington, nor in New York, Pennsylvania or Wisconsin, but in Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas and points south.

The FEPC bill has been advanced as the cart before the horse. I will not say its main advocates have been impetuous—the needs are obvious, old and clamorous—but they have been obsessed and incautious. They have attacked with dash—but they have failed to provide themselves with the reserves of election power they must have.

SOME time within the past two years, these groups most keenly attracted to President Truman's civil rights program have convinced themselves, or have been convinced, that fair employment is really the "keystone" of the list. The real keystone still is free elections. That must be plainer than ever, now.

FEPC is being stopped in Congress not because the Republicans are lukewarm to it; not because the Democratic party wants to save it as a come-on issue in an election year—though these factors operate; but because the representatives from the southern states need to be mindful only of their white electorates and can fight the bill in any fashion with impunity.

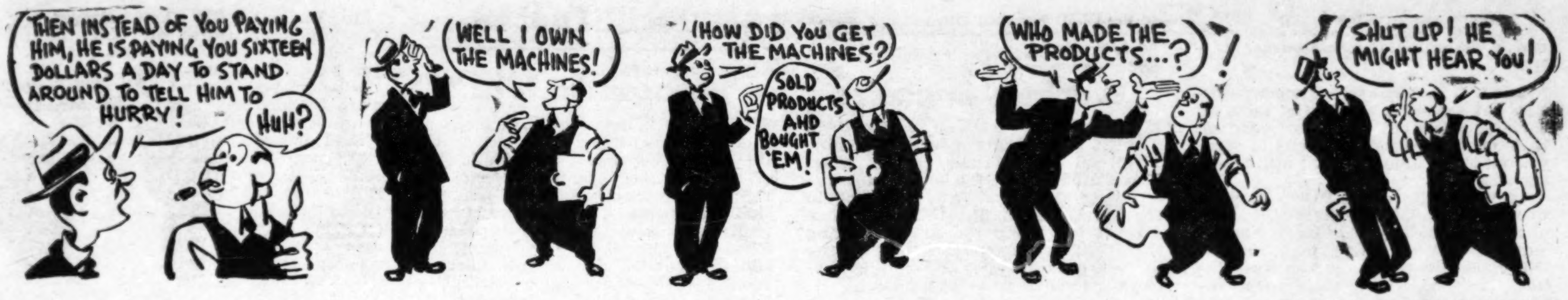
Rep. Vito Marcantonio's efforts to force a roll-call on the motions sidetracking the measure have been turned down for the protection of those members—of both old parties—who could be held to account at the polls by supporters of FEPC. The Southerners, with the poll-tax fence around their political preserves, had nothing to worry about. In their "back homes" the underprivileged can support FEPC only with their wishes.

IT must be plainer than ever now—especially to the NAACP, the CIO and the ADA—that if we are to achieve progressive legislation in the civil rights field by "democratic processes" in our fair land, we first must have some democracy in our fair land. We must, by freeing the suffrage, bring government within the reach of all the governed, make "representation" accountable to all who have a right to an effective choice of representatives.

The FEPC bill, for all its worthiness, is in the category of "gift from above." Precisely those most in need of such a law now have no lever with which to pry obstacles from its path. This is election year for all congressmen. It stands to reason that those who so gleefully have pushed the FEPC bill on the shelf would have been more considerate had the millions of black people in the South first been armed with the ballot.

ANOTHER civil rights bill, aimed at the poll-tax barrier, already has passed the House and waits—heavy with bipartisan pledges—in the Senate.

This is the best chance; and as long as the champions of FEPC fail to apply their main drive toward enactment of the free elections bill, so long will they lack the popular leverage to force FEPC itself out of the clutches of the irresponsible minority in the legislative hall.


THEN INSTEAD OF YOU PAYING HIM, HE IS PAYING YOU SIXTEEN DOLLARS A DAY TO STAND AROUND TO TELL HIM TO HURRY!
HUH?
WELL I OWN THE MACHINES!
HOW DID YOU GET THE MACHINES?
SOLD PRODUCTS AND BOUGHT 'EM!
WHO MADE THE PRODUCTS...?
!
SHUT UP! HE MIGHT HEAR YOU!

Drawing by Fred Wright in UE News

gains in the field of special provisions for women's protection.

Last week Sen. Guy M. Gillette (D-Ia.) introduced the amendment on the floor of the Senate. But Sen. Carl Hayden (D-Ariz.) attached a rider declaring that the amendment would not nullify "any rights, benefits, or exemptions now or hereafter conferred by law upon persons of the female sex." It was adopted 53 to 31. No Republicans voted for the rider. The amendment was passed 63 to 19.

NO. 22: Mrs. Anita Pollitzer, chairman of the National Woman's Party, called the Hayden rider "unreasonable in light of the facts." She said her organization would oppose it in the House. Progressives felt that the rider eliminated most of the amendment's dangers.

If the amendment gets a two-thirds majority in the House it will go to the States. If 36 ratify it, it becomes the 22nd Amendment to the Constitution.

LABOR WEEK

MINERS

It's T-H time again

COAL operators reach for Taft-Hartley at the drop of a pick-axe. The anti-labor law has been wielded on the miners more often than on any other unionists. Last November the law cost the miners $1,420,000 in fines. Last week the miners were again a target.

When the coal operators refused to sign a contract in December, Lewis had ordered the miners to work only three days a week. At first they agreed; but when operators cut off credit at company stores and withheld payments to the welfare fund, about 90,000 miners balked. They refused to go into the pits until a contract was signed. Lewis said: "The only issue current in the coal industry is whether mine workers shall be paid $14.05 per day as the operators insist, or $15 a day as the mine workers insist."

RAP FOR DENHAM: The operators, insisting that the cut in coal production endangered national safety, clamored for Taft-Hartley. Congressmen, government officials and the press joined the cry. But the **Wall Street Journal** on Dec. 17 had reported: "This year every mine under the three-day week is operating to the limit of those three days. Last year, though the union had not cut the work week from the normal five days, many mines were operating as little as two days a week."

President Truman remained silent. National Labor Relations Board counsel Robert N. Denham took his cue. He asked for an injunction to force the miners into the pits without a contract. For the Democrats Truman was off the hook, Denham on the limb. If there was a rap, Denham would take it.

On Thursday Lewis told the operators he would resume negotiations on Feb. 1—the same day hearings on Denham's injunction were to begin.

ALL FOR ONE: Most of labor knew that if Taft-Hartley could smash the powerful miners, no union was safe. Last week the New York branch of the United Labor Committee to Repeal Taft-Hartley called a conference to mobilize rank-and-file action. Although Lewis had offered a $2,500,000 a week fund for the steel strikers last November, Philip Murray had taken no such energetic steps to help the miners, though he offered them verbal support. In addition Murray and AFL President William Green had postponed the fight on repeal until 1951. The New York unionists wanted immediate action.

About 1,000 delegates from AFL, CIO and independent unions mapped a program: organize immediate support in the shops for the miners; demand immediate repeal of Taft-Hartley; force removal of Denham. Other meetings were scheduled in Chicago, Cleveland and Los Angeles.

AUTO WORKERS

They want cash

WALTER Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, had trouble making patterns. He thought he had one at Ford: a pension fund out of which workers with 30 years on the job would be paid $100-a-month pensions including social security payments.

That quickly went out of fashion with auto workers. At Chrysler Corp. they wanted wage increases of 10c an hour at least. One worker said: "Let them fight for pensions in Washington." Reuther agreed to ask for a 10c package in pensions or wages. GUARDIAN correspondent Irving Richter reported: "The workers wanted to be the ones to decide which it would be, pensions or wages, but two days before the strike deadline, Reuther talked them out of it." The company would

(Continued on following page)

All subscriptions to NATIONAL GUARDIAN are paid for. If you are receiving the paper without having subscribed for it yourself, someone else has paid for your subscription and you will not receive a bill.

Chicago: 300 broken records

Toffenetti takes a hammer to the voice of freedom

Special to the GUARDIAN

CHICAGO, ILL.

WHEN racist violence broke out on Chicago's Peoria St. in November, WMOR-FM was the only radio station in town to report the facts.

Rod Holmgren, the GUARDIAN's Chicago correspondent, gave two 15-minute commentaries exposing the Garfield Boulevard Improvement Assn., the police, Mayor Martin H. Kennelly. Bob Schakne, WMOR news editor, built a half-hour documentary program on which several of the Peoria St. victims — including Aaron Bindman — told their stories.

Demands for "copies" of the documentary were heavy. It was played for the Conference to End Mob Violence, the NAACP, B'nai B'rith groups, teacher organizations, AVC chapters, the Urban League, the Chicago Rabbinical Assn.

HAMMER MAN: But the documentary and the Holmgren commentaries enraged Dario L. Toffenetti, who holds 25% of the stock in WMOR and whose Triangle restaurant chain provided much of its advertising revenue. (He has a restaurant in New York's Times Square too.) Toffenetti began to press the station's managers for removal of Holmgren and withdrawal of the documentary "copies."

The climax came at a meeting of WMOR's board of directors, when Toffenetti threatened to withdraw his advertising unless he was given control of station policies. The liberal veterans—who owned a majority of the stock—were caught. Loss of the Triangle advertising, they feared, would wreck the already shaky station. They voted Toffenetti the power he was asking for.

Toffenetti arrived at the station next morning armed with a hammer. He asked where the Peoria St. documentary "copies" were. Two hours later he had smashed 300 records—100 sets of three records each. When this was reported to the Conference to End Mob Violence, Conference Chairman Sidney Williams commented: "In Nazi Germany they burned books; in Chicago they smash records."

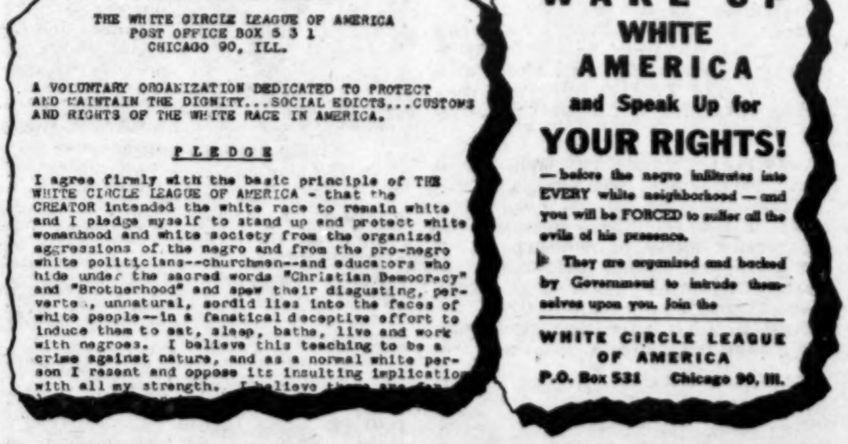
THE SHOW GOES ON: Toffenetti also gave orders for cancellation of Holmgren's Sunday evening commentary series. Bob Schakne resigned as news editor in protest.

Still Toffenetti was not satisfied. Last week, he withdrew the bulk of his advertising from the station. His attorney, Abe Teitelbaum, suggested that the station's entire staff and board of directors resign—with exception of Toffenetti. He hinted that the Chandler Act — involuntary bankruptcy — might be invoked.

The liberal veterans opened a last-ditch appeal to progressive business men for financial help and sought sponsors for Holmgren's news programs among trade union locals.

WHOSE STATION? When the station was started nine months ago, it was with a firm determination to make it more than "just another radio station." In addition to Holmgren, they scheduled Leo Lerner, Morris Kaplan and the late K. M. Landis II—all liberals—as commentators. Studs Terkel, long-time progressive entertainer in Chicago, offered a disc jockey program. Walter Childress, the only Negro engineer on a Chicago station, is on the staff. Despite critical financial problems, the station is winning a reputation for its honesty and the quality of its programs.

As the week ended, the fight was joined: Was it to be Toffenetti's station, or was it to be the liberal "people's" station originally intended by a dozen veterans who applied for the license within weeks after their discharge from the service in 1946?



MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

THE WHITE CIRCLE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
POST OFFICE BOX 5 3 1
CHICAGO 90, ILL.

A VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO PROTECT AND MAINTAIN THE DIGNITY...SOCIAL EDICTS...CUSTOMS AND RIGHTS OF THE WHITE RACE IN AMERICA.

PLEDGE

I agree firmly with the basic principle of THE WHITE CIRCLE LEAGUE OF AMERICA - that the CREATOR intended the white race to remain white and I pledge myself to stand up and protect white womanhood and white society from the organized aggressions of the negro and from the pro-negro white politicians--churchmen--and educators who hide under the sacred words "Christian Democracy" and "Brotherhood" and spew their disgusting, perverted, unnatural, sordid lies into the faces of white people--in a fanatical deceptive effort to induce them to eat, sleep, bathe, live and work with negroes. I believe this teaching to be a crime against nature, and as a normal white person I resent and oppose its insulting implication with all my strength. I believe

WAKE UP
WHITE
AMERICA
and Speak Up for
YOUR RIGHTS!

— before the negro infiltrates into EVERY white neighborhood — and you will be FORCED to suffer all the evils of his presence.

▶ They are organized and backed by Government to intrude themselves upon you. Join the

WHITE CIRCLE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
P.O. Box 531 Chicago 90, Ill.

Book burners — record smashers

Chicago's White Circle, a hate outfit whose principles are clearly stated above, is busily stirring up the prejudices that erupted recently in the Peoria St. mob attack on Jews and Negroes. But the campaign against the hate-mongers is making some progress. White Circle leader Beauharnais will go on trial Feb. 8 on a charge of defamation; some meeting rooms have been closed to him; the state attorney general's office has filed a suit to revoke his state charter.

(Continued from preceding page)

decide according to the Reuther pattern.

STRIKING PATTERN: Company officials sat around a bargaining table all Tuesday night but would not yield on their offer; no fund; pensions to some who met rigid requirements; a five-year contract.

On Wednesday about 90,000 Chrysler workers walked off the job. Briggs Manufacturing Co., body-builders for Chrysler, "furloughed" 23,000 more. Detroit felt pinched already. At General Motors, where contracts come up for renewal in a few weeks, workers watched Chrysler for a cue. They might yet weave a wage raise into the pattern.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Carey: wrong friends

ABOUT 500 delegates from United Electrical Workers locals across the country convened in New York to hear a report on the state of the union. They learned that during the period of its war with James Carey's International Union of Electrical Workers (CIO), UE had added 12,000 new members and had won every election against IUE.

Last week UE won two more skirmishes. In Woodside, L. I., workers at the Sklar Co., on strike for six months, nevertheless voted for UE 155 to 29. In Greenfield, Mass., 700 workers at the Greenfield Tap and Dye Co. rejected IUE in favor of UE.

CAREY CALLS CONGRESS: Carey sought allies. He appealed to the House Un-American Activities Committee to investigate UE Local 601 in East Pittsburgh, Pa. The local, one of the largest in the union, is a target in the forthcoming elections in the Westinghouse Electric Co. chain.

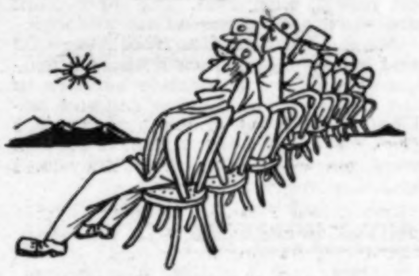
Carey spent a busy week. To all congressmen he sent a letter charging collusion between UE and General Electric to get business for the company from Soviet agencies. To the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he complained that 11,000,000 people are being worked to death in Russian slave-labor camps.

MINE, MILL

Workers in chairs

FOR a full mile the road was lined with men sitting quietly in chairs. The road led to three potash mines near Carlsbad, N. M. The roadside sitters were striking miners belonging to the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. A court injunction prohibited blocking the road; the companies were trying to coax back the 400 non-mining employes, members of craft unions.

Most took a look at the mile-long silent gauntlet and turned back. Many didn't show up at all. All told, less than 70 men braved the strange picket line.



DIG, YOU LAWYERS, DIG: In its third month, the strike was still solid last week. Workers demanded wage increases and renewal of their union contract. Taft-Hartley injunctions had brought the arrest of ten leaders who go on trial for "contempt" Jan. 30, but strikers scoffed: "Lawyers and injunctions won't dig any potash."

Carlsbad's Mayor L. C. Garrett told a union committee that the town's police were under orders to maintain "strict neutrality," promised to fire any policeman taking sides. Sheriff Dwight Lee deputized 30 strikers to help keep order.

From miners in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, 1,500 miles away, came a truck loaded with 14 tons of food for the strikers.

FREEDOMS

"Reason to fear"

IN New York last week U. S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black told a dinner meeting that any "despotic government which tramples upon the rights of the people has reason to fear"; that a government which "convicts and punishes without fair trials has reason to fear." The U. S. government, he added, "founded on the principles of equal justice to all and special privileges to no group at all, can rest its case with the people, themselves."

TEXAS JUSTICE: Elsewhere Americans were considering justice where they found it. Some people had their first look at U. S. justice in the night court of Judge Harold Allison, Houston, Tex.

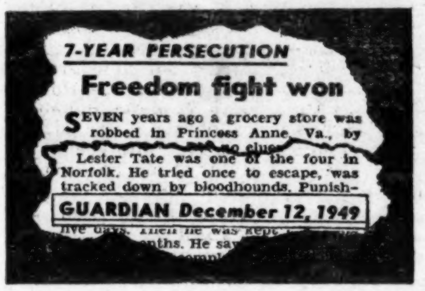
A reporter for the Houston **Chronicle** noted these judicial techniques. Judge Allison smoked a black cigar while he presided. To one woman defendant he shouted: "Are you drunk or stupid?" He later ruled that she was "plain stupid."

To a Negro found in a parked car where he sought shelter from the rain the judge said: "If I caught you sitting in my car I'd put a bullet right in your head. I'd shoot a man sitting in my car and then ask who he was."

CALIFORNIA JUSTICE: In Los Angeles Negro longshoreman Anderson Clark was arrested without charges, beaten, kicked, then taken to the back door of the station house and told to "run or be shot." Civil Rights Congress attorneys took the case.

In Oakland, the California State Committee on Crime and Correction was digging into CRC charges of long-practiced police brutality against minority groups. Forced "confessions," wanton shootings and illegal arrests were on the agenda.

Said Assemblyman Vernon Kilpatrick, committee chairman: "There are some people who give lip service to the Bill of Rights, but who utterly detest the Bill of Rights, and some of them own newspapers." (Kilpatrick helped save Lester Tate, falsely accused of robbery, from Virginia "justice"—GUARDIAN, Dec. 12, 1949.)



7-YEAR PERSECUTION

Freedom fight won

SEVEN years ago a grocery store was robbed in Princess Anne, Va., by

Lester Tate was one of the four in Norfolk. He tried once to escape, was tracked down by bloodhounds. Punish-

GUARDIAN December 12, 1949

JUSTICE ELSEWHERE: In New York City George West, a Negro, complained when a policeman, off-duty, flourished a revolver at two other Negroes. The policeman shot West and killed him.

The Civil Rights Congress listed this as one of the first five lynchings of 1950. On New Year's eve, Samuel Taylor, a Negro farmer in Belleville, Va., was hacked and beaten to death by two carloads of white men. In Kosciusko, Miss., early this month three Negro children, 13, 7 and 4 years old were murdered.

CHICAGO, ILL.

I am enclosing $2 which will pay for one new sub and renew my old one. Want you to know I never discard the magazine, but always let others read it and urge them to pass it on. We have over 50 subscribers in the plant I work in.

Harry Waller

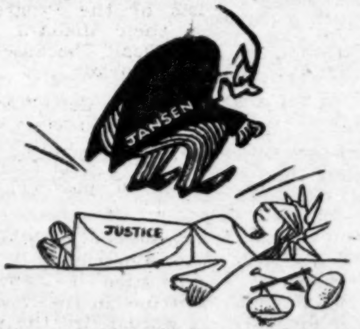
EDUCATION

TEACHERS

Fire them anyway

NEW York's Feinberg Law empowered school authorities to question teachers about their political affiliations, fire them if the authorities didn't like the answers. Two New York Supreme Court justices have declared the law unconstitutional; the state is appealing.

In New York City, school superintendent William Jansen seemed unmoved by constitutional issues. Lawyers for the city had advised him of his right to question teachers about their politics and he said he would keep on doing so. He announced that teachers he questioned would be fired if they gave the "wrong" answers or refused to answer for fear of self-incrimination or for other reasons.



The CIO Teachers Union asked Supreme Court Justice George Beldock to hold Jansen in contempt of court for violating a court order against applying the Feinberg Law. Justice Beldock reserved decision.

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Justice in the CIO

Public Workers on trial: Pressure, prejudice and pique

By Robert E. Light

CIO trial committees have been holding court against ten unions charged with being "communist-controlled." If found guilty, the unions will be expelled next month. The trials have been held behind closed doors; the public and press barred. The GUARDIAN dug up the official transcript of the United Public Workers' trial. It told this story:

PRE-TRIAL PRESSURE: Ewart Guinier, secretary-treasurer of UPW, testified that a few days before the trial a high Catholic Church authority approached him to repudiate the leaders of his union and "to go along with Phil Murray." This, Guinier was told, would make him "the biggest Negro in the country."

IMPARTIALITY OF JUDGES: Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers and chairman of the committee, said: "I am prejudiced against the Communist Party of America. I am not prejudiced against this union, although this union is part of the Communist apparatus." (That UPW belonged to such an "apparatus" was the charge to be tried.)

THE EVIDENCE: Abram Flaxer, UPW president, had refused to tell the House Un-American Activities Committee whether or not he was a Communist; a UPW convention in 1948 resolved to commit the union to no Presidential candidate and urged all members to vote as they saw fit. This was said to show UPW followed the "communist line," and used "communist tricks" to draw support for Henry Wallace.

EWART GUINIER
He wouldn't be a big shot

Bulk of the evidence consisted of excerpts from union publications, published by two now-dissolved unions which merged in 1946 to form UPW. Items said to have taken the "**Daily Worker** line" included:

- A paid advertisement of the Jefferson School of Social Science.
- Several articles in 1939-40 approving Sen. Burton K. Wheeler's stand against U. S. intervention in World War II. (Official CIO policy also opposed intervention.)
- A report of a meeting in 1947 of the Progressive Citizens of America at which Henry Wallace spoke. (Phillip Murray was a vice-president of PCA that time.)
- Appeal in 1945-46 for speedy return of soldiers overseas. (This, too, coincided with official CIO policy.)
- Favorable reviews of Russian films. (CIO News often praised Soviet movies.)
- A critical report of Winston Churchill's Fulton, Mo., speech in 1946 blueprinting the cold war.
- A two-page story in 1945 headlined "'Truman: A Leader We Can Trust."

THE ACCUSER: William Steinberg, president of the American Radio Assn., admitted he had never met Flaxer or other top union officers and never attended a UPW meeting. He said he based his charges on what he read in UPW publications.

CREDIBILITY OF WITNESSES: Charles Rindone, former UPW member and CIO's chief witness, admitted he quit the union because it would not go to court to throw out a civil service examination he had flunked. He re-joined later, but left again when the union refused to hire him as an organizer and didn't pay him $2.85 he said he had spent on organizing activities.

TRIAL PROCEDURE: When Al Bernstein, UPW official, asked if evidence was being accepted without examining it, this exchange ensued:

> **RIEVE:** Of course we do.
>
> **BERNSTEIN:** Well, this is the funniest thing I ever saw.
>
> **RIEVE:** Well, you haven't been living in this country, my friend. You mean to tell me the courts, for example, examine every exhibit?
>
> **BERNSTEIN:** In any court.
>
> **RIEVE:** I tell you, you have been living in a different country than I.

Rieve had limited UPW to four witnesses. After two had testified, with Ewart Guinier still on the stand and Flaxer not yet called, Rieve announced the trial was over. He instructed the union to present the rest of its defense in written form.

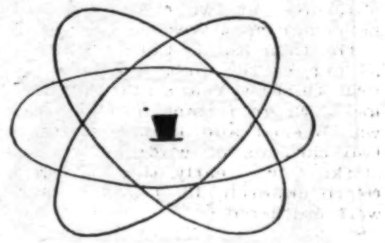
THE WORLD

WAR AND PEACE

Some fun! Let's blow up the earth!

FOR four years after Hiroshima the architects of U. S. foreign policy had one main building material: the atom bomb. They said it was the "absolute" weapon; it would make the "absolute" policy. Other foreign policies might have to be changed from time to time to meet changing conditions. Not so with the atom bomb. It made diplomatic statesmanship obsolete; persuaded Americans to hand over unprecedented power to the military; mechanized all politics—foreign and domestic.

When the Russians set off their own atom blast, the "absolute" policy blew up. For weeks the architects groped, on the point of stumbling into peaceful cooperation with other countries. Last week they had another gimmick to replace diplomacy: the hydrogen bomb.



WILL THE THEORY WORK? Instead of breaking down atoms, this bomb would depend on the building up of atoms, a process said to generate explosive power 1,000 times that of the atom bomb (see Max Werner, p. 5).

Publicly, President Truman debated whether or not to build the bomb. So far, it was merely a theory. If it worked out, noted the Alsop brothers in their syndicated column, it meant "the ability to blow up the earth. . . . This kind of Caligula madness is no danger of course."

Some scientists said they would have nothing to do with the new terror weapon.

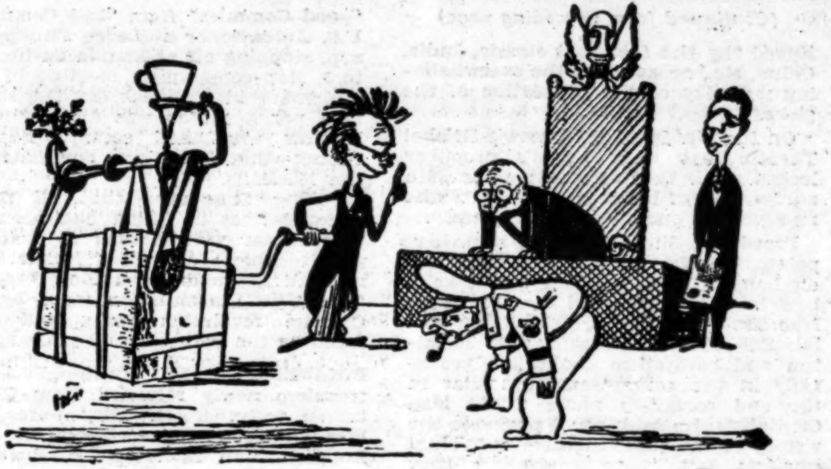
HA, HA, HA, HA, HA: When discussions of foreign policy got away from the new bomb, they turned to high jinks. President Truman attended the costume ball of the American Newspaper Women's Club and was greeted by Marshal Stalin (**American Mercury** editor Lawrence Spivak in a grey moustache.) Peace seemed a good joke.

Will Clayton, a former Undersecretary of State, took a grimmer view. He saw the western hemisphere surrounded by communism by 1955 unless Congress enrolled the U. S. into a Federal Union of Atlantic Treaty nations. He thought Stalin was "winning the cold war."

BLESSED PEACE-MAKERS: Elsewhere peace was not funny, war pacts were not the solution. In Cuba, Socialist Youth began a "relay for peace," carrying the Cuban flag from the eastern end of the island from city to city to Havana. A crowd awaiting the arrival of the flag bearers in Havana was assaulted by police. Leaders were arrested.

Peace campaigns were launched in Argentina, Belgium and Switzerland. In France the campaign to ban the atom bomb was winning support.

The World Congress of the Defenders of Peace announced three annual international peace prizes for the best films, literary or artistic works that contribute to lasting peace.



Tvorba, Prague

TRUMAN: "What is this?" SCIENTIST: "It hasn't got a name yet." TRUMAN: "But what is it for?" SCIENTIST: "Oh, for nothing!" TRUMAN: "Then why did you make it?" SCIENTIST: "Because the Russians haven't got it!"

HENRY WALLACE

The lost peace

FOUR years ago, Democrat Henry A. Wallace and Republican Henry L. Stimson told President Truman's Cabinet that atomic secrecy was impossible, the United Nations should exchange information on scientific development, and that a single bomb might ignite the atmosphere and destroy the world.

Stimson, Truman and Wallace agreed that relations with Russia were improving, that no basis for conflict existed. That was in secret session. Publicly the war scare and the atom race were under way.

This vital policy discussion of September, 1945, hitherto suppressed by U. S. cold-war tacticians, was laid on the record last week by Wallace before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Previous witnesses had sinisterly implied that Wallace wanted to "give the atom" to Russia and had expedited uranium shipments. This he flatly denied.

THEY HATE ROOSEVELT: But Wallace did not stop there. "I don't like to see the Roosevelt Administration impugned," he said. (The Committee ordered that remark stricken from the record.) Through a "lying leak" about the Cabinet meeting, Wallace said, he had been pictured as a "plotter," and added: "King Solomon should add to his things beyond the wisdom of men why newspapers print what they do."

Next day the N. Y. **Daily News** headlined his appearance: "HELLBOMB TIPPED IN '45—HANK."

CHINA

Third of humanity will march together

IN the last article he ever wrote Nicolai Lenin said the world would be on the road to socialism when its colonies rose in revolt; that the scales would be

(Continued on following page)

'New Look' in U.S. foreign policy

The Truman Doctrine gets a fine fake funeral

THE **New Republic** had a vision last week. It saw Henry Wallace and non-Communists of the Progressive Party "ending their diehard fight against the Fair Deal"—because "the Truman Doctrine is dead."

"Truman Doctrine is dead," echoed the **U. S. News**, which also had a vision of the future: "Stopping Communists now is to be selective. Bad Commies will be contained, if possible, good Commies accepted."

The speed with which the press acknowledged the Doctrine's death proved how unwanted it is by the people. The Doctrine, in the **New Republic's** official words, "led the world to believe that America had the resources and the will to prop up every rotten regime that raised the anti-Soviet skull and crossbones." But the collapse of Chinese dictator Chiang has shown the limits of Washington's power in this direction; and the developments in Yugoslavia have inspired the "good Commie—bad Commie" approach to a "new" foreign policy.

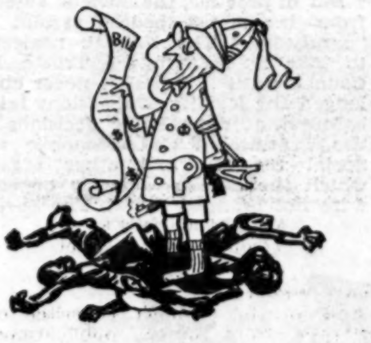
SMELL IS DECEPTIVE: Apart from the manifest absurdity of the "good Commie — bad Commie" approach, progressives will ask this question before they start embracing the Fair Deal: How dead is the spirit of the Truman Doctrine?

Here's just how dead it looked as the "new" foreign policy took shape last week:

GREECE: The Fair Deal will continue to help the corrupt Monarchist regime, which is about to have a "democratic election." The election will be conducted on the 1946 electoral register which even the conservative London **Observer** condemned as a fake; under conditions of martial law; and with an estimated 50,000 political opponents of the government in jail. Last month a former governor of one of Greece's larger islands told the London **New Statesman's** correspondent Basil Davidson: "There won't be more than about 5,000 of us who run Greece, and we all know each other."

TURKEY: The "democracy" of Turkey, which the Fair Deal will continue aiding, was thus described by a New York **Times** Istanbul correspondent last week: "Even in local affairs, let alone in the national arena, there is little precedent for reaching decisions by open discussion and majority vote. In keeping with their tradition of absolute military discipline . . . most Turks are accustomed to obeying silently the orders from above, as administered by the hierarchy of government officials. The officials expect no less."

SPAIN: The Fair Deal is going to restore full diplomatic ties with Franco's government which, according to Secretary of State Acheson himself on May 11, 1949, "was patterned on the regimes of Italy and Germany and was, and is, a Fascist government and a dictatorship."



VIET-NAM (INDO-CHINA): Three months after French Overseas Minister Coste-Floret admitted the failure of the "Bao Dai experiment" (France's attempt to foist the Riviera playboy Bao Dai on a people who accept—80% of them—the government of Ho Chi Minh), Washington proposes to aid Bao Dai.

"Everyone," wrote the Rangoon (Burma) **China Commercial Times** last June, "knows Bao Dai is only a puppet in French hands and a tool for the French to exploit Viet-Nam . . . America at the time of F. D. Roosevelt was quite sympathetic to the Viet-Namese who were suffering under French oppression. Roosevelt once said: 'Viet-Nam is the most exploited of all colonial lands.' But hardly had the bones of Roosevelt been decomposed than the Americans began to help the French to oppress the Viet-Namese."

SOUTH KOREA: Despite congressional opposition based on nothing but party-political maneuvering, the Administration expects to continue propping up this puppet republic. An example of South Korean "democracy" is given in the UN Commission on Korea's report to the Fourth General Assembly, in which this Press Law directive now in effect is quoted:

> **It is forbidden to print:**
>
> **(1) Articles contrary to the policy of the Republic of Korea;**
>
> **(2) Articles detrimental to the Republic of Korea;**
>
> **(3) Articles approving or protecting the Communist Party and the North Korean puppet regime;**
>
> **(4) Articles reporting false facts for purposes of agitation;**
>
> **(5) Articles reflecting upon the relations of the Republic of Korea with friendly powers and hurting the national prestige;**
>
> **(6) Articles agitating the public mind with an excitable tenor and news and, moreover, having a detrimental influence upon the public mind;**
>
> **(7) Articles betraying national secrets.**

IT'S STILL A FAKE: As long as the Fair Deal, in the name of democracy, supports governments which even their best friends cannot claim to have a vestige of democracy, progressives will continue denouncing the Fair Deal as a fake. And as long as the cold war continues, the Fair Deal has no choice but to support such governments.

(Continued from preceeding page)

tipped "by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe."

On the platform of Moscow's Bolshoi Theatre last week Lenin's prophecy looked good. Commemorating the 26th anniversary of his death were men who represented one-third of humanity.

Pravda's editor, Peter Pospelov, pointed out China's victory. China was on hand to honor Lenin and take a bow in the persons of her President Mao Tse-tung, her Premier Chou En-lai. Editor Pospelov said that socialism and capitalism could live peacefully in the same world but that in the end socialism alone would last. Capitalists, he said, could postpone the victory of socialism in some individual country; but "save capitalism they cannot."

Mao and Chou were in Moscow to cement friendly political and economic relations with Russia. "No force can hinder our great states going forward together hand in hand," said Chou.

WISTFUL WEANERS: There were forces that would try, however. Washington's "new" foreign policy (see p. 9) was based on the hope of weaning "good Commies" from "bad Commies." U.S. Ambassador at Large Phillip Jessup, stopping off at Manila on his way to a stop-communism meeting of U.S. diplomats in Bangkok, said wistfully that perhaps Mao was discovering in Moscow what had escaped him in Peking—that China was dominated by the Russians.

Peking announced that all major railroad lines in China had been repaired last year thanks to material and technical aid from Russia. The railroad ties underlined the great difference in the situation faced by the Chinese revolution today and that faced by the Bolsheviks 30 years ago.

POLITENESS PAYS: In New York two travelers newly returned from China talked to reporters. They were Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, wife of Paul Robeson, and Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, vice chairman of the Kings County American Labor Party.

"The Chinese people," said Mrs. Robeson, "feel about New China the way American Negroes in Mississippi would feel about their country if all the jimcrow legislation was gone and if the land belonged to the people."

Of charges that Russians would take over parts of China, she said: "Anyone who has been in China and knows the people would know that it would be impossible for anyone to take over any part of China. . . . Not a province, not a Chinese person could be taken over. You can't even get to talk to them unless you're polite and treat them with respect."

GOOD DIPLOMACY: Some U.S.-Chinese relationships were good. The first shipment of the Friendship Cargo sent by the China Welfare Appeal in the U.S. was welcomed at the International Peace Hospital at Tsinan. Consisting of a 30-bed children's unit, it was shipped from the West Coast last September. A plea for contributions to the Friendship Cargo—its goal is $25,000 worth of urgently-needed drugs and medical supplies—was made last week by John T. McManus, NATIONAL GUARDIAN's general manager, attorney O. John Rogge and Dr. Leo M. Davidoff.

GERMANY

Finagling Reich

A N. Y. **Herald Tribune** correspondent in Western Germany wrote last week of "a growing feeling that too much has been given too quickly."

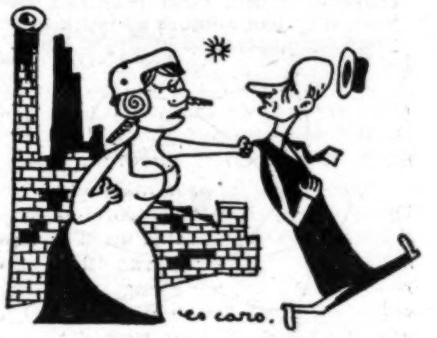
To whom was it given? The correspondent mentioned the political leaders created by the western allies, who now strut as though a war had never been lost. He might have added the German industrialists.

German industrial stocks hit new highs last week. One reason for it was that under Hitler these same industrialists had concealed their capital to escape the Nazi limitation of dividends to 6%. They were bringing out their cash reserves to take advantage of the Marshall Plan boom. U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy flew to Washington carrying the pleas of these same industrialists for more capital investment from the U. S.

Little was given to most West Germans, though. Marshall Plan prosperity failed to percolate down much below the rank of colonel, the job of foreman. There were 1,783,142 unemployed, 11% of the labor force.

TIME FOR A CRISIS: In this setting the U. S., Britain and France found themselves embroiled with the Germans in a Saar crisis. Seizing upon French proposals for long-term "integration" of Saar coal mines and railways with the French economy, West German leaders virtually claimed the Saar anew, demanded a plebiscite as Hitler had, or at least internationalization.

Seeing consternation in their conquerors' ranks, the Germans then let go with their economic guns: they called off negotiations with the French for a $300,000,000 trade agreement. Cries of "Blackmail!" resounded from Paris, London and Washington. The western powers drew together; the Germans again swore undying devotion to the cause of western European cooperation. "If there has been tension," said a French official, "it is over now."



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Hey—let's not drop our reparations talks. How about YOU paying ME?"

HOW TO BE WORTHY: German generals also had a pleasant role in affairs last week. In Kassel, booted officers gathered under the Kaiser's flag to cheer the merging of two militaristic political parties both labeled "neo-fascist" by U. S. and British authorities. The new party was named the "German Reich Party."

In Paris, two German generals faced a court-martial of six French Generals. They were charged with burning 1,000 homes in the town of Gerardmer and deporting 500 people. Abbe Toussaint, Gerardmer's priest, came to Paris to tell how the people were dragged out on a cold November night to watch their houses burn. The Abbe was not heard; the generals said they had found their job "disagreeable."

"Give them back their swords," intoned the court, acquitting the generals. "They are worthy."

INDIA

Dubious freedom

ATOP the secretariat buildings on New Delhi's highest hill perch two massive British crowns, weighing two tons each. Engineers thought that if the British crowns came tumbling down they might cave in the roof of the Secretariat. They let the crowns stand and only the more accessible coats of arms were effaced.

India last week became a republic. Her statesmen, as cautious as her engineers, continued to acknowledge the British King as symbolic head of the commonwealth. The new constitution abolishes untouchability—the most extensive system of mass oppression surviving into modern times. A detailed document of fundamental rights is also included.

But as it went into effect, 25,000 trade unionists and political opponents languished in India's jails without charge or trial, and the Bombay government was trying to put through a law banning appearance of defense counsel when trade unionists are tried.

India's Republic Day was ushered in with fireworks. Police killed three demonstrators in Calcutta, injured 28 in Bombay. In Hyderabad a Hindu tossed a grenade at the Nizam, Moslem ruler and one of the world's richest men, whose kingdom and riches are left almost intact by the new republic.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

If and when you promise me you can and will keep going another year I will pay you a dollar each for my weekly copies.

Joseph Fletcher
Episcopal Theological School

United Nations report

Will Russia quit the UN? Nothing is more improbable

GUARDIAN UN correspondence

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y.

SECRETARY-GENERAL Trygve Lie is depressed by the Soviet walkouts at UN. He said so at a press conference on Jan. 20. "We had difficult periods in the life of the United Nations before," he said. "We were very much down a year ago when we had the Berlin blockade which was very dangerous in all respects. I think we are a little more down this year at this time. The shares of the United Nations company are lower today than they have been before."

But, he added, he would still buy UN shares at this price.

The Soviet walk-outs are an unpleasant development, but they are not grave enough to account for the gloom pervading UN corridors and echoed in the conservative press. The real reason for the pessimism may perhaps be found elsewhere: in the realization that with the collapse of Chiang and the emergence of New China, the pro-western majority has lost a crucial vote in the Security Council.

IS IT LEGAL? Since the beginning of January, when the U.S.S.R. challenged Kuomintang China's membership in the Security Council, Soviet, Polish and Czech delegates have walked out of every UN body where China was represented. They said they would come back only after the Kuomintang delegates were replaced with New China delegates. When they added that decisions taken during their absence would be considered illegal, many observers said UN would be "paralyzed."

But in practice, the Soviets' absence from lesser UN bodies cannot be "paralyzing." The U.S.S.R. neglected to take its seat in the Trusteeship Council until 1947, but it never challenged the legality of decisions taken before that date. Later decisions by the Trusteeship and Economic and Social Councils and other organs, which the Soviets violently opposed, were not branded illegal. The Soviets have been practically always outvoted in these bodies anyhow.

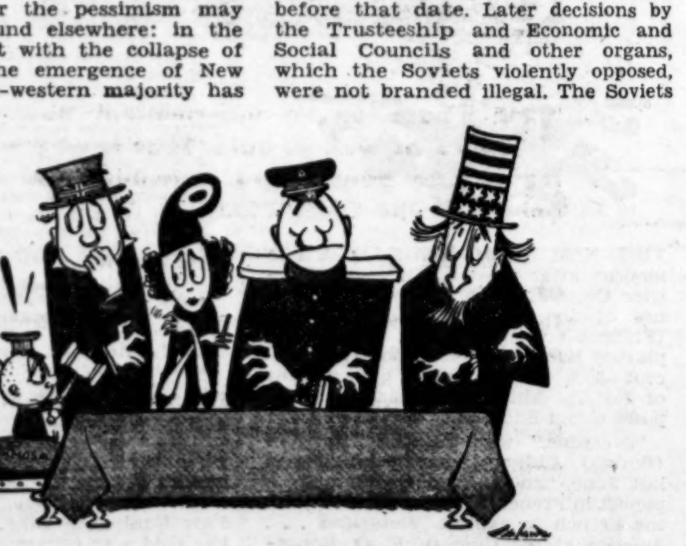
THREE OUT OF FIVE: The real trouble lies in the Security Council, where the U.S.S.R. is one of the Big Five, and so is China. There the right of any of the Big Five to veto a decision, based on the principle of "unanimity" so greatly stressed in the UN Charter, enables any of them to block a decision it opposes, even if the ten remaining members approve. If, during the Soviets' absence, the U. S. for instance proposed to vote acceptance of new UN members like Finland or Italy, whose admission the Soviets have repeatedly vetoed, the U.S.S.R. would be absolutely justified in considering the decision illegal.

The Security Council is paralyzed by the Soviets' absence, and many Council members are reluctant to deal with important business during their absence. But the trouble does not end there. Any UN member—particularly a party directly involved—could challenge as illegal a Council decision taken in the absence of the Soviets. Since Kuomintang delegates can no longer be said to represent China, it could be properly claimed that the decision was approved by only three of the Big Five.

The trouble then is not just the outcome of the Soviets' absence and "non-cooperation." It lies in the fact that the Chinese seat has to be filled by the legal representative of the Chinese government instead of a ghost. As long as Kuomintang delegates remain, the Security Council's legal position is shaky anyway.

NEW STRENGTH: Some people fear, others hope, that the Soviets will stay out for good. Nothing is more improbable. Fighting now to get the real China into UN, the Soviets will certainly not quit just when their isolation in the Security Council is to be ended.

China is also represented in all the major UN bodies. She will be a new and powerful ally for the Soviets, influencing the shaping policies concerning Asia and the attitudes of UN's oriental members. This is probably the real reason for current western pessimism at Lake Success.

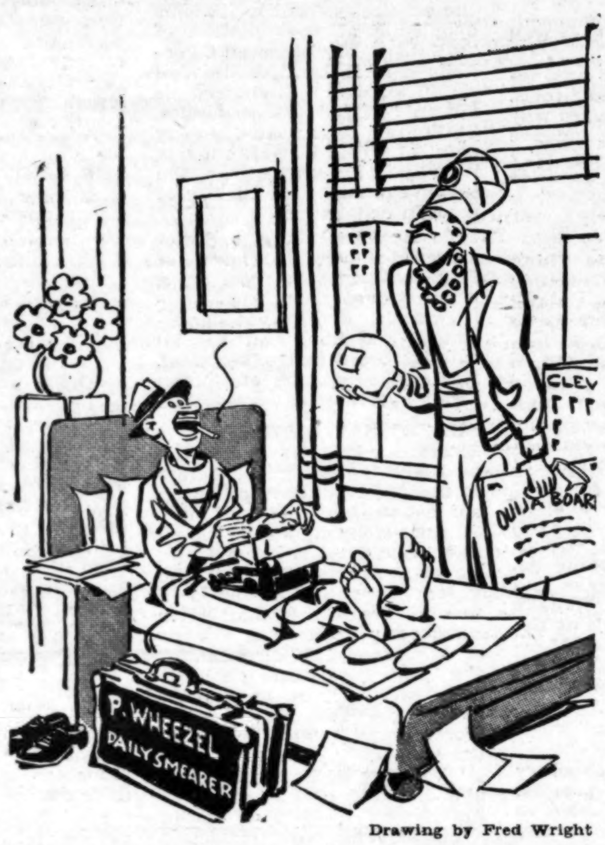


De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

The Big Five

If the GUARDIAN doesn't make it—

It'll be a long time before the next one



Drawing by Fred Wright

"O.K., Swami, let's go to press: 'Red submarines will be sighted in the Mississippi in . . .' You pick it up from there."

Victor Levitt is general manager of Trade Union Service (printers of the GUARDIAN), a unique outfit which undertakes writing and editing and/or printing and mailing of any worthy paper that needs it. When the GUARDIAN needed his help, it got it.

Apprenticed as reporter and writer on the old N. Y. "World," Levitt is an all-around operator who decided he'd rather be a workingman publisher than a well-paid hack for a Hearst. He fell heir to the direction of "People's Press" after a spell as press agent for UE when John L. Lewis led the CIO. Modesty keeps him from claiming, in the article below, a little more glory for "People's Press"—which, though it didn't live to tell it, left a very respectable residue of accomplishment. It was a streamlined U. S.-style publication, adapting to the purposes of the progressive political and labor field the syndicate idea characteristic of the U. S. press. Many top-flight current labor papers stem from the multi-editioned technique it developed.

THE EDITORS

By Victor Levitt

IF the NATIONAL GUARDIAN wins the sustaining readership and support that it must have right now, the progressive political movement will save itself about 15 years in the building of a medium of communication.

That is the approximate time it takes before the circumstances arise for building such an institution after one folds up. **The Appeal to Reason** folded in 1922. It was 1935 before anything resembling it came along, and that was in the wake of the tidal wave of CIO organization which started at that time. The paper was the **People's Press.** It is worth looking back at that strident, zealous but poverty-stricken sheet, which kept going one way or another for about five years.

PEOPLE'S PRESS was organized by a group of progressive journalists headed by Frank Palmer, Harvey O'Connor and some other labor writers. It was the forerunner of the GUARDIAN, attempting to do in its time much the same job that this paper is now doing. But **People's Press** could not do it half so well.

One reason was a lack of finance. An even more important reason was the lack of a fully competent staff. These factors, are of course, interdependent to some extent.

People's Press started with a subsidy from a few generous people of means. It did not last long enough. As John McManus pointed out in these pages last week, the real and lasting support must come from readers. So the **People's Press** turned to the then resurgent labor movement, and converted itself into a labor organ. That gained it a few years extension of life. But even that did not help enough, and it finally folded. Being an "official organ" is not the answer.

THE answer lies in building a medium for progressive expression to which the readers remain devoted individually, and not simply as an adjunct to membership in a union or party. That is precisely what the GUARDIAN is doing —15 years after **People's Press** left the field. Having been active in both operations, I am in a position to compare the two, although I claim no exceptional critical faculty.

The GUARDIAN is similar to the **People's Press** but it is not the same, and the difference greatly favors the present paper. Its first 60 issues prove to me beyond cavil that the GUARDIAN has practically everything the other paper lacked: a staff of sincere journalists of great competence; a business and clerical staff of great skill and devotion; a political movement on which to base itself, one that has only lately polled over a million votes in a national election; and, above all, nearly 100,000 paying readers who seem ready each week to send in an unsolicited letter of praise.

THOSE are assets of incalculable value, better than money. I say that every dollar placed at the disposal of NATIONAL GUARDIAN right now is being matched with at least two dollars' worth of the most essential ingredients of a people's national newsweekly.

And then there is the question of the 15 years between the death of one progressive paper and the birth of another.

I don't think the progressive movement has another 15 years to spare for that purpose. I hope it has 15 months. As for the GUARDIAN, it may not have 15 weeks unless its acknowledged friends give it the jet-assisted lift it must have right now.

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Important notice

In sending names of new subscribers to the GUARDIAN, do not ask us to send bills to people unless they have authorized you to do so. We have no right to bill people who have not authorized their own subscriptions.

So before instructing the GUARDIAN to bill anyone, please obtain consent in advance. This makes for satisfied subscribers and prompt payment of bills.

When cash accompanies subscription orders, there is no billing and the foregoing does not apply.

have you got 4 friends?

PRINT NAMES **street** **city & zone** **state**

ME ....
1 ....
2 ....
3 ....
4 ....

☐ **$5 enclosed.**
☐ **Bill me for $5.**
☐ **My $1 enclosed. The others say it's O.K. to bill them for $1 each.**

EVERYONE has 4 friends

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

needs their help

THE cause of an independent newsweekly is yours as well as ours. That is why we are asking you to double and redouble your efforts on behalf of the GUARDIAN.

Write in (at left) the names and addresses of four friends. Put $5 in an envelope addressed to us, to cover five one-year subs—including your own sub or renewal.

If the money isn't handy, check the proper box at the bottom of this page and we'll bill you —or each of your friends if they say O. K.

THE EDITORS

National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

Exclusive interview

Henry A. Wallace on FDR and peace

(Continued from page 1)

confessed he'd been wrong. The Russians were using tools as well as anyone.

"Since September 23 [when the Soviet atom blast was reported] probably everyone realizes the Russians can handle tools. But now they're arguing that the Chinese can't. It takes any people time to move out of feudalism but the last ones out are usually the most efficient. The Chinese, the most recent, may prove the most efficient. The Chinese people have unique qualities and exceptional capacities."

Price of non-cooperation

Wallace recalled Roosevelt's personal attachment to China "because his grandfather was in the China trade." He recalled his own mission to China in May 1944, to impress on Chiang Kai-shek the need for getting together with the Communists so China's full strength could be used against Japan. The U. S. then feared that otherwise 5,000,000 U. S. troops would be needed to defeat Japan on the Asiatic mainland; at the cost of perhaps a million American casualties. Roosevelt told Wallace to remind Chiang that Al Smith used to say: "Just let me get them in the same room together with their feet on the table and a glass of beer." But Chiang refused. Wallace correctly predicted he was "at best a short-term investment."

Instead of the American "adventurism" which has supported Chiang and other tyrants against the people the world over, Wallace advocates friendly aid to meet people's basic needs. "This," he said, "was the Russian approach to Outer Mongolia. During my visit there in 1944 I found that the Russians had approached the nomadic Mongol people in the spirit: "What's going to raise your living standards? I met some 40 people at the Institute for the Study of Animal Diseases. They were all Mongols but they had all been trained in Russia. Russia set itself to work out problems of animal husbandry in Outer Mongolia, invited the Mongols to Moscow to study these problems."

Colonialism must end

"Roosevelt believed very strongly that American technology and know-how should be made available to backward peoples. In the last year of his life he had an overwhelming passion to bring about the end of colonialism as soon as possible. He felt very strongly about the British in Hong Kong, though he was willing to save face for them there. He thought the French had no right to have Indo-China back.

"He was especially vigorous in his condemnation of British colonialism in Africa where he'd been. He was very vigorous on the need for river valley authorities in the Near East and Africa. He liked to tell of a drive he took with the British governor general of Gambia, West Africa, around Bathurst to see how the people lived. He asked the governor general what the British took out for every shilling they put in. In telling the story, he'd mimic the governor general's reply: "I would say about a pound, sir."

Like Roosevelt, Wallace has an overwhelming passion to bring about the end of colonialism. As immediate steps toward that goal he will fight for the end of adventurism in U.S. foreign policy and the beginning of friendship with China. At home, as the result of the boomeranging of cold war adventurism and repression, he sees new lines forming, new methods of fighting possible.

The Dollar Stretcher will be back in its regular space next week.

CALENDAR

New York

"TRIAL OF THE TRAITORS," dramatization of House Un-American Activities Committee in action, written by Jerome Chodorov and Howard Fast, presented by N. Y. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, Sun., Jan. 29, 8 p. m., Capitol Hotel, 8th Av. and 51st St. Adrian Scott, Lindsay White, O. John Rogge, Sam Wanamaker will appear as "witnesses." Tickets: $1 and $1.50. Call: MU 7-2161.

ETHICAL CULTURE SOCIETY SYMPOSIUM: Mon., Jan. 31, Dr. David S. Muzzey, "Ethical vs. Sectarian," Tues., Feb. 7, Lawrence Frank, "Ethical Culture and Mental Health," 8:30 p.m., 2 W. 64 St. Admission free. Future lectures to be announced.

OPEN FORUM, sponsored by Manhattan Branch Ambijan, Sun., Feb. 5, 8:30 p.m., Steinway Hall, 113 W. 57th St., Studio 601. Israel Epstein will speak on "China Today." Admission: 50c.

RALLY TO SAVE SIX LIVES, auspices of Suffolk County ALP, Fri., Feb. 3, 8:15 p.m., Bethel A.M.E. Church, Brook and Second Avenues, Bay Shore, L.I. Bessie Mitchell, sister of Collis English, will speak on the Trenton Six.

Paterson, N. J.

TESTIMONIAL DINNER in honor of Abram Waks, county chairman of Progressive Party, Sat., Feb. 4, 6:30 p.m., Susquehanna Hotel, 149 Fifth Av., Paterson, auspices of PP of Passaic County. Subscription: $2.50 per person.

Chicago

AN HONORING PARTY for Louis Gembalowsky, 87, caretaker of the Center, Sat., Feb. 4, J.P.F.O.-I.W.O. Center, 4825 N. Kedzie Av., 8 p.m. Donation: $1.

SQUARE DANCE, sponsored by PP 38th Ward Club, Sat., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. Old Point Hall, 5107 W. Grand Av. Grab your partner!

THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE on Civil Rights, sponsored by Civil Rights Congress, Feb. 3 and 4, UE Hall, 37 S. Ashland Av. Contact: CRC, 606 So. Dearborn, Room 546.

HOUSE PARTY, sponsored by 35th Ward PP, at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Welchers, 3816 Wrightwood, Sat., Feb. 11, 8:30 p.m. Hal Klapman of Hollywood Actors Lab will read Home of the Brave. Games, cards, refreshments. Donation: $1.

LECTURE BY CARL HAESSLER on "America Hears the Marxian Music," Fri., Feb. 3, 8 p.m., Swedish Educational League, I.O.G.T. Hall, 1041 Newport Av. Admission: 50c.

Tucson, Ariz.

CONFERENCE for the organization of a Citizens' Committee for Fair Employment Practice, Thurs., Feb. 2, 8 p.m., Prince Memorial A.M.E. Church, South Stone Av. and 17th St. Contact: FEP Comittee, P.O. Box 897.

Storm over Europe

The Stalingrad saga — before and after

By James Aronson

STALINGRAD has not yet become a dirty word in those circles which become apoplectic at the mention of "socialism" or "Roosevelt". Perhaps this is because the full significance of Stalingrad is not appreciated in those circles. Stalingrad was the turning point of World War II; one day it may be regarded as the turning point in the history of modern civilization.

To Ilya Ehrenburg, a Soviet citizen, a Jew, a lover of France, a master reporter, a man of deep sensitivity—Stalingrad already has that significance. For him, and for all willing to see and understand, it was the triumph of human ideals over bestial degredation.

ANGER IS A WEAPON: The Storm, for him, was a howling wolfpack sweeping all before it in terror until it came up against the stark spirit of man. It was stopped; in bewilderment and rage it snarled and struck again and again. But the victim now had achieved a monumental anger and bitter sorrow for the bleeding wounds of mankind. The direction of the storm was reversed. It swept west, across the steppes, across the ruins, across the frozen corpses, into the lair of the wolves.

The story of how this came about is told by Ehrenburg in his newest book, **The Storm,** a Stalin Prize novel published in English last month.

Here is the story of how a people (the Russians), certain that they were on the right road with the right idea, became convinced forever in a horrible ordeal; how another people (the French) in another ordeal fought against corruption and found their place, with shaky footing, in the ranks; how another people (the Germans) let go and wallowed in a cesspool of debasement, and came out whimpering.

THE CANVAS IS BROAD: In each case there were exceptions: opportunistic and cowardly Russians; cynical and immature French; heroic Germans tortured by the sins of their own people.

ILYA EHRENBURG
He saw it first hand

The Storm opens in Paris, swings into Russia as war comes, then weaves across Europe first with the German armies, then with the Russians, then with the maquis in France. It encompasses the stench of the concentration camps and the slaughter of the Jews, the fight of the Russian partisans in the forests, the underground war against the Germans in France, the whole dirty business of collaboration.

Excellently translated by J. Fineberg and edited by Isidor Schneider and Anne Terry White, the book is swift-paced and biting, with the savage irony and humor that mark Ehrenburg.

PROPHETIC PHRASES: For this reviewer there were two flaws:

Ehrenburg places word of prophecy in the mouths of Russian junior officers which stamp them as master diplomats and political prognosticators years before their time.

Again, Ehrenburg's few Americans and British come out as caricatures. The only decent American is a GI whose parents were born in Lithuania. The others have all the prejudices and stupidities that progressive America is fighting against. Ehrenburg, who has been here, should know that such a picture is neither accurate nor fair. There were—and are—Americans and Englishmen who knew why they were fighting—and why some of them had to die.

But despite the flaws, **The Storm** is a gripping story and one of the few books which draws such a sweeping picture of the war in Europe—and the war in the soul of man.

THE STORM, by Ilya Ehrenburg. Gaer Associates, 133 W. 44th St., New York. $3.50.

Cause and cure

N. Y.'s citizens organize to guard mental health

By Egon Pohoryles

TO the box-office romanticists who make the movies, mental illness strikes only neurotic women or war veterans. The causes and cures are always highly dramatic.

The Citizens Mental Health Council of New York, formed at a Jan. 21 meeting in N.Y. City, has a different idea. It will seek out the major causes of mental illness among ordinary working men and women: unemployment, the housing shortage, inadequate relief, racial segregation.

For those who associate mental illness with a film psychiatrist's couch, the real problem was spelled out by Frank Herbst of the United Public Workers of America: "The tensions and strains under which a worker lives actually make him 'blow his top.' . . . The worker is afraid because of his complete economic insecurity, because of the impossibility of finding a job when a younger man is competing with him. He is afraid of a health breakdown because of economic insecurity when no provisions have been made for taking care of him."

DR. LEON McKINNEY
For all to join in

Herbst also emphasized the "terrible fear stemming from anti-red hysteria, the complete fear of speaking up for what the average person believes in."

THE HOUSING DISEASE: Dr. Dan W. Dodson of New York University spoke of the "road blocks" to mental health encountered by "many ex-GI's and others living with in-laws and doubled up in other living accommodations."

The size of the problem was indicated by many speakers. Said Prof. Paul V. Lemkau of Johns Hopkins University: "In 1940 the prospect that an individual living in the State of New York would enter and spend some time in a psychiatric hospital was one in 12." Added Dr. Stella Chess, consulting psychiatrist: "Out of 75,000 children delinquent and truant from school each year, only 3,000 requiring psychiatric care receive it. There is no overall plan to prevent these totals."

CITIZENS CAN BE SANE: Dr. Leon McKinney, one of the organizers of the committee from which the Mental Health Council was formed, said it represented the broadest possible attack on mental health problems.

Represented on the council were psychiatrists, sociologists, psychologists, social workers and plain citizens. The council is to be non-partisan but it will press for laws to provide adequate hospital facilities and trained personnel.

Prevention was planned on economic, social and political levels. Public agencies, labor unions and church groups were among the 272 organizations which sent delegates to the conference.

RAY C THOMAS
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